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CONTENTS

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VOL. 24 JULY-SEPTEMBER, 1922 NO. 3

CONTRIBUTIONS TO HOPI HISTORY

INTRODUCTION

THE first three narratives combined into this paper have general interest as giving successive views of one of the most conservative Hopi Pueblos as seen through the eyes of as many trained ethnologists, but a very particular interest as a study of the reactions of a highly specialized community to the rapid advances of a culture entirely alien to it. In the first of these accounts we observe the violent mental and social disturbances elicited by the foreign culture in an as yet united people. In the second we learn of the organization of progressive and conservative factions following upon such disturbances, to an ultimation in the total separation of the original body, and we observe that the emotion excited is no longer between an old established and an immigrant people but between an old established and an immigrant culture. The third paper lays bare the internal structure of the social organism and explains how the lines of cleavage dividing progressives and conservatives ran through it. The concluding paper of the series furnishes illustrative material from a neighboring and related Pueblo.

I. ORAIBI IN 1883[1]

By Frank Hamilton Cushing

At Oraibi, the once universal and beautiful Pueblo art of basketry, as exhibited in sacred trays, still exists in full force.

[1] This report by Mr. Cushing on his trip to Oraibi in the winter of 1882–83 is part of an account of his observations among the Hopi of the pueblo mentioned, the other portion of which will appear in the Journal of American Folk-Lore. This manuscript, together with numerous others, most of them more or less fragmentary or incomplete, came into possession of Mr. Stewart Culin, of the Brooklyn Institute Museum, on the death of Mr. Cushing, by the gift of his wife, and in turn they were

Yet it is almost totally forgotten save by mention in folklore and tradition at Zuñi and it is fast sinking into abeyance even with the Eastern Moqui [Hopi]. At Oraibi the process of using the basket bowl and tray, as the form in which water vessels, bowls, and many other fabrics of clay, are modeled, still holds; a process also once well-nigh universal among the ancient Pueblos.

Again the beautiful art of inlaying with turquoises, shell and colored stones in wood, shell, and horn still survives. Today may be seen in abundance the inlaid wooden pendants, ear ornaments, and, more rarely, collars, so frequently mentioned by the early Spanish chroniclers. At the Rio Grande Pueblos and at Zuñi it is true these things exist—notably inlaid shell pendants—but they are rare, and for the main part very ancient heirlooms—although the unpractised art is not wholly forgotten.

As to dress and headdress, the banged hair of the men straight down over the forehead, unconfined by *banda* unless of vegetable fibre or a strip of fur, and done up at the back in a close knot with terraced side locks; the breech-clout of very soft buckskin or fur; the high buskins of undyed skin confined above the ankles with strings; the robes of rabbit-skin, handsomely prepared cat-skins, and the furs of larger game; these are marked traces of the traditional Pueblo costume. Another dress, used only by the chief priests in ceremonials, is the "wide sleeved"[2] cotton coat elaborately embroidered, mentioned as part of the ancient Pueblo costume of rank, even as early as Coronado's time.

The town too is built in every essential respect as were the ancient ruins throughout the Southwest; the house walls are reared of sandstone-slabs, either chipped and pecked or roughly broken to a rude facing on the outer edges and laid in mud. Occasionally the upper walls are augmented by hand-made adobes, hard lumps of mud of an irregular, oval outline, dried in the sun,

placed in my custody for such use as might seem advisable. The entire body of manuscripts has not yet been correlated, but as the Oraibi report finds at once appropriate places of publication, it has been placed in the hands of Dr. Parsons to edit for that purpose.—F. W. Hodge.

[2] There is a dance at Zuñi today called *basikyapa*, wide-sleeved, which is referred to as a Hopi dance.—E. C. P.

and laid in thin mud, the interstices being thickly plastered on both faces of the wall with the same material. All of the dwelling rooms are small. Thus is secured for the pueblo compactness; for the inmates, comfort during cold weather, with little expenditure of fuel. The rooms occupied during winter are partially under ground, always at least in the lower stories, except those of the poorer class. They are entered through the roofs by means of short-poled ladders. The roof of this first story forms the floor of the next, or the terrace whereby it is reached. The summer dwellings, either in the second, third, or fourth story, are entered through doors,—if small rectangular passages open or closed as necessity may demand only with portières of robes or blankets may be so called.

One of the characteristic features of the interiors is the fireplace. This is dimunitive in the extreme, and fed usually with fuel composed of sage brush, grease-wood, corn-stalks, and cobs; more rarely with piñon and cedar or dried dung from corrals. These fireplaces are simply little rims of mud or sandstone slabs set on edge into the floor, and of a shape convenient for receiving the cooking pot. The flue or mantel is composed of sticks, thickly plastered, set out from the corner of the room far enough to receive the smoke, and converging upward either to a small hole in the roof, or to the portion of the lowest of a stand of bottomless pots placed one over the other, and continued considerably above the roof to form the chimney. More interesting and rare are examples of the fireplace, made essentially like the one above described, but furnished with no flue, save an oblique hole through the wall, to the rear and a little above the hearth, a feature which I have observed in the architecture of well-preserved ruins of the ancient pueblos.

Among the furnishings of the Oraibi home room are always conspicuous the grinding slabs, usually three or four side by side in one end of the low room; the blanket pole, suspended along one side; the sitting stones, huge flat sandstone blocks. These latter are carefully fashioned and provided at either end with a horizontal concavity to facilitate handling. The stone architecture, small size of rooms and fireplaces, the sitting stones or "stool

rocks," and hand-made adobes, distinguish the Oraibis externally from all other Pueblo Indians as having longest preserved the characteristics of their ancestors. Nor do we find this feature absent from their institutions. The distribution of the dwellings according to the gentile [clan] subdivisions of the tribe—allotment into wards, so to speak—as also the semi-sacred character of the houses devoted to the secular usage of the principal priesthoods are further distinctive.

Again, the primitive character of the regulative structures is shown in the kiva or estufa. These are not as sacredly devoted to the *kaka* [*koko*, Zuñi] or kachina as in some of the other pueblos [Zuñi], since they are also used as gathering places for the men during winter. Here may be seen always in winter the fire which warms (not always welcomes) all travellers before they are invited to enter more private apartments or to leave the town; which renders comfortable the old men and the young who spend the winter days in spinning, weaving, and weapon- and gewgaw-making; which lights the crowds of idle gossippers or myth tellers who gather there each night, or the wrangling, double-sided councils of law, and the more single-purposed priesthoods preparing for ceremonials; yet again the sacred medicine bands whose incantations, rituals, and juggleries are rendered effective by the profound mystery or secrecy of their operations, inexorable save through initiation. By the fireside, too, gather the unmarried men often, and even the married men during certain fasts and other observances of abstinence, to sleep. We have only to refer to Castañeda, Coronado, Oñate, and other early Spanish authors to learn that these uses of the estufa were general prior to the Conquest.

These estufas are built under the ground, the roofs being level with or slightly raised above the surface. They may or may not be walled up at the sides, a matter depending on the solidity of the material—either earth or bed-rock into which they are excavated. They are entered through a mat-closed sky- and smoke-hole between the first and middle thirds from the eastern end, by means of an enormous ladder resting on a raised plain below. This plain or platform is cut off abruptly under the ladder entirely

across the enormous room, and lowered a foot or some inches more, which level it keeps throughout the western two-thirds forming the main floor. The walls are thickly plastered, usually upon a lathing of beautifully wattled canes held fast by means of pegs inserted into the interstices of the sides of the room. A bench extends entirely around the room next to the wall, on a level with the raised portion in the eastern extremity. About the floor are plentifully strewn the huge stone seats before alluded to, sometimes deeply scarred on the bottoms by use for grinding arrow points, shell and stone ornaments, and bone implements. Around the edges of the room in all convenient places are strong wooden loops or staples securely fastened into the floors, and corresponding thongs, depending from the rafters above; both designed for use in strapping in an upright position the looms, four or five of which may nearly always be seen during the winter plied by naked, dirty men.

These estufas, instead of being built as with the other pueblos by communities corresponding to the phratries of some tribes,[3] are constructed usually by a single individual, that is, at his expense and instigation. They are then thrown open to his friends and relatives. By this means—through wealth—he becomes the father of the clans which accept his hospitality—or the principal man and often the priest—thus establishing a rude form of phratry,[4] and making the sub-chieftancy appear to be rather the result of wealth and popularity than of election.[5]

[3] Presumably the moiety kiva system of the Eastern towns is here referred to. (See Parsons E. C. "Further Notes on Isleta" in American Anthropologist, (N. S.), 23:156.) At Zuñi the kivas are built or rebuilt by the *koko* (kachina) organizations that use them.—E. C. P.

[4] This account, I can but think, is somewhat misleading. The servant-managers (*wo'we*) of the Zuñi kivas are chosen, to be sure, by the membership. And so is the kiva chief at Jemez and probably in the other towns under the moiety kiva system. But individual initiative and wealth are less conspicuous in kiva building and keeping, among the Hopi, than Cushing suggests, and the principle of clanship or maternal family much more to the fore. It is a kinship group, rather than an individual, which is associated with kiva proprietorship.—E. C. P.

[5] Presumably the so-called linked clan system of the Hopi is here referred to. But whether or not the linked clans or, preferably, the associated maternal families are held together through using the same kiva (at the winter solstice ceremony this would be when every man is supposed to resort to the kiva associated with his clan), or whether there are other bonds, is still an obscure matter.—E. C. P.

The owner of the estufa virtually carries the key to his doorless reception room. Whenever he wishes to exclude the public, he simply hauls the ladder out and takes it to his own house, placing it under strict guard. By virtue of this proceeding he is able to augment his authority, denying at will the hospitality which he has taught his clans and dependents to rely upon. These, aside from certain heralds and functionaries corresponding to the priests of the bow in Zuñi,[6] seem to be the only regular chiefs exclusive of the priest chiefs of the pueblo. Of the latter are two principal peace priests and two war priests[7] whose functions, varying with the character of the times, are ecclesiastical and medical, as well as secular and martial. Opposed to these officials of the regulative system of the Oraibis, are certain men who, by virtue of their claimed heredity and craft, are supposed to have possession of superhuman powers or magic, the sorcerer priests of the tribe. They are, unlike their reputed representatives among the other pueblos, respected, because mortally feared. By means of a reckless affrontery unparalleled by anything I have else known of other Indians, they in council boldly attack the regular chiefs, assert and usually carry their own measures in opposition to those, by terrorizing the body of these legislative gatherings. They go so far as to threaten the life of the highest priest-chief of the tribe, if this incumbent of a once reverenced office be so bold as uncompromisingly to oppose their aims. I incline, from the evidence furnished by folklore and analogy, to regard these bodies—amounting at Oraibi to a brotherhood or even a society—as entitled to a regular though not to a strictly regulative place in the social structure of the Pueblos. They are appealed to, in times of war or pestilence, to remedy the misfortunes they are supposed to have originated, if not, indeed, to have in each instance caused or acquiesced in. So great is their power that their

[6] Members of the Agave and Horn societies.—E. C. P.

[7] According to more recent records there is but one "peace-priest" or rather Town chief, literally chief of the houses. He is, or should be, assisted by several other chiefs (see p. 290) as well as by the maternal family to which he belongs, the chieftaincy being hereditary or quasi-hereditary. There is also but one War chief. Both Town chief and War chief have, no doubt, each an apprentice-assistant.—E. C. P.

leader assumes all the title and demands even the "tithes" of the highest priest-chief of the tribe, gaining his adherents by the promise of the restraint of evil toward them, or the invocation of good fortune for his followers, and tracing his descent from the mythic grandmothers of the human race,—the Spider and the Bat. By the relentless exercise of this assumption he and his followers control even those who are opposed to them, who writhe in complete moral bondage to the reputed sorcerers.

Perhaps, as an example of this, I go not amiss in recording my own experiences during our efforts to gain the consent of the tribe to our enterprise [of making collections for the National Museum and getting scientific information].

Late during the afternoon of the 19th of December [1883] we had reached the mesa of Oraibi. I went ahead of the main body with our second interpreter, Pulákakai (who spoke Zuñi with fluency), to the pueblo. Arrived, we were invited into an estufa; soon after, to the house of the highest priest-chief of the tribe. Here we were at once heartily welcomed and given two rooms, one for storage, the other for occupancy. During the night, the old priest-chief (Lolulumai,[8] Beautiful) summoned one or two of his subordinates and some of his relatives. Without the slightest difficulty I gained his and their cordial consent to our trading operations, even their thanks that we had brought such abundant means of dress, food, etc., to the town. I was advised by him, however, to call, on the following night, a more general council in one of the large central estufas. As our prospects for success were thus rendered apparently certain, Mr. Mindeleff immediately started for Keam's cañon with all of the party save Watts, our cook, and an artist companion, W. L. Metcalf of Boston. His intention was to get boxes, lumber, extra goods, etc., to facilitate extended work at Oraibi.

During the day following, I found considerable opposition to my efforts to secure as a trading center one or another of the estufas. The ladders were either missing or withdrawn shortly

[8] See Voth, H. R. The Oráibi Oáqöl Ceremony, pl. IV, 1, in Field Columbian Mus. Pub. 84, Anthrop. Ser., vol. VI, no. 1, 1903.—E. C. P.

after my approach, from all save such of these large chambers as were constantly occupied. I determined therefore to let the matter rest until it should be regulated by council. Meanwhile opposition grew more pronounced and impertinent, until my interpreter advised me to desist. Towards sunset a delegation of Walpi chiefs, together with my first interpreter, Nanahe (an adopted Zuñi of Walpi nativity), arrived to assist me. Late in the night I succeeded in getting a few persons into the estufa. I began to harangue them, but had not proceeded far before a second body of people much larger than the first was summoned together by a herald. They collected about the entrance-way outside. They intercepted the highest priest-chief and his associates, compelling them to return to their houses; then entered and took possession of the estufa. I was sitting in the middle of the room in front of the fire. When as many as could find room on the platform beyond the ladder had entered, one small elderly man threw his robe from his naked shoulders and demanded that I desist, saying, "Stranger Tehano (American) you may as well attempt to scratch flint with your finger-nails as to pierce our ears with your lying words." I quietly asked him who he was. He replied that he was the "chief priest of the tribe and a wizard."[9] "Then," said I, "you may be quiet, until I speak my speech, for I am a child of Washington. I come here with my brothers, bringing the words of our father—words which must be spoken, whether heard or not heard." He began once more to speak, but I told him again more emphatically to be quiet; that he must hear the words of a stranger, before he pass judgment on him; that the stranger would then listen to him. So he said, "It is well." I then said:

"Fathers, brothers and friends! We have a father called 'Washington.' As you say the Sun is the father of all men, so

[9] Unfortunately Mr. Cushing does not give the Hopi term used here. *Powaka* is Hopi for wizard or witch, and, as far as I have observed, the Hopi quite as much as people of other towns would be extremely averse to calling themselves, or to having others call them, witches. The reference in this connection was, I presume, to the magic power of the priests or chiefs or members of the societies. It is true that certain societies are reputed to have peculiar power in black magic as the *ne'wekwe* of Zuñi, and I once did hear the town chief group of Zuñi (*akyakweamosi*, chiefs of the houses) referred to as a witch group. See p. ——.—E. C. P.

say I Washington is the father alike of all Indians and Americans. Washington lives that he may do good to and protect his children. He knows his white children well, for he speaks one speech with them, and lives in one house with them. Behold the consequence! Are they not the most wealthy and happy of men; the most powerful and wonderful of beings save the gods? What enemy disturbs them? What man amongst them but has warm clothing to wear, good-tasting things to eat? Now this father has heard of the Oraibi, but he knows not their ways of life. Like a great priest of the Sun, he must stay in his pueblo Washington to guard the rights and look after the wants of his people. Therefore he cannot go forth to grasp his many children by the hand; but he sends his chiefs forth to greet them, to measure their houses that he may know what kind of homes they live in; to paint their pictures that he and his white children may see what kind of men live in those houses; to gather the works of their hands, the things beautiful and useful they may have, that he may see whether they be poor or wealthy, whether they have the wisdom of thought, or the poverty of foolishness. For, should he find a town of his children poor, he might be moved to help them with the means of maintenance, or if foolish, he might send his chiefs to give them instruction.

"Among the many great houses in the Pueblo of Washington is one of red and blue stone, with great roofs and terraces, and a dome so high that the strongest hand cannot throw a stone over it. This dome is filled with plates like quartz crystals that the light may shine in, and even the sun-rays themselves may enter. This house has four great doors through which horses side by side might be ridden, for it is as large as is the whole Pueblo of the Oraibis. It has many rooms, for there, stored in boxes one can see through, are the fabrications of the many different children of Washington, that his chiefs may look at them and learn what are the kinds of men who are the children of Washington, and whether they be, or may be, brothers one to another. There is one great room in this estufa of the children of Washington—empty. It is the room of the Oraibi. Washington has sent me to you with my brothers that we may get things wherewith to fill this room.

That we may put them in the boxes one can look into when closed, to keep them for many years.

"A man cares little for a stranger, nor recks what his fortune may be. Is it reasonable for Washington to love or help his children, save of his knowledge of them? Therefore, fathers and brothers, I have asked one of your chiefs at Walpi what it was that was most needed by his children. According as he instructed I have brought abundance of all things. These things I will give you in return for your old vessels and implements, your worn-out apparel, your things of stone, and the ancient things your fathers used."

Before I had finished the last sentence I was angrily interrupted by three or four voices from the opposite side of the ladder, refusing my offer and insulting me in language not to be reproduced. Still I continued, "Have you children and wives? Do you love them, or do you speak as windstorms do, thinking of nothing? For your children are naked in winter, and your women are hungry with nourishing them. Food I have, and fabrics soft to the touch and bright to the eye."

Again I was refused more vehemently than before, and ordered to get out of the estufa. I told them I must know why they received my message thus. They replied that the Americans were liars with whom they wished to have nothing to do. I asked them if they ever had aught to do with the Americans. They replied, "No."

"How then do you know they are liars?"

"Because the Mormons told us so, and our eastern brothers, the Moqui."

"Did neither the Mormons nor the Moqui ever lie to you?" said I.

"Good! good!" shouted Tathlti (a friend to my cause). "Make fools of yourselves, my brothers, as deaf as you are to his arguments, so deaf is he to your obstinacy and insults; he grows not angry, but sits on his rock smoking with aged bearing (dignity) as becomes the child of a great chief. Go on, go on! Some day you will insult a chief of Washington who is not so gentle of breath, and lose your lives, your wives and your children; but

that matters nothing! The Mormons are good men. They did not lie when they came to help us and took our cotton fields away. The Moqui are good men. They do not lie when they tell us the price of things, then sell them to us for twice their cost. Go on!"

This infuriated our opponents. They said to me, "You are a heap of dung in our plazas; you stink of your race. Leave or we will throw you off the mesas, as we throw dung out of the plazas."

"Oh no; I must know why you hate the Americans, who are your friends."

"We do not hate you; we hate Washington and his American children."

"But you must tell me why you hate Washington, for he it was who, through his chiefs, sent me here."

"Because of the words of our ancients."

"Yes, yes! but how do you know what your ancients said about the Americans?"

"We know their speeches of many years ago, even of the times when the world was new."

"When you prove to me this [I was anxious to get as much as possible of their mythology, which even Lolulumai had refused me], and that you know of the times of creation better than I then I will leave you."

"You will leave with all your brothers before morning, or we will wipe you out as with a moccasin sole we wipe out bedbugs."

"Oh no, but I will not. I must know what to tell my fathers in Washington when they ask me why I come back so soon. Not in one day or yet in several will I leave, surely not unless you prove what I have asked you."

They deliberated a moment and then directed me to get "paper and a writing stick quickly." They wished me to write down all they said and send it back to Washington; then to leave at once, for my presence "oppressed them as things which caused the stomach to vomit."

I hastily ran home, and, getting paper, rolled a pistol in my blanket and returned. As soon as I had sat down by the fire, they

gave me in substance their myth of creation,[10] which for the sake of clearness I have given rather as a myth than as an infuriated argument, interspersed with the most insulting messages to Washington, and demands that he send his soldiers without delay to destroy or attempt to destroy the Oraibi tribe, in the face of their magic and the prophecies of the myth. Toward the completion they demurred from telling me more. I told them it was by their own wish that I wrote, and that as I knew the ancient talk already better than they did, it was quite needless. Whereupon they grew angry, but went on, greatly abbreviating, however.

At the close they declared that "Washington must come before this moon is gone, with all his soldiers, to kill the Oraibi and sit on their heads. We would like to see him do it."

"But Washington is a father; he is not an elder brother. Would you strike the heads off the necks of your own children?" I replied.

"Tell Washington as we advise you! Tell him he and all his chiefs and soldiers are filth, or the material for filth and carrion when they come about our pueblo; that we have power he little thinks of. We know the Americans can build iron horses which draw heavy loads as fast as the wind runs. They can cut holes through mountains and talk with strings. Therefore it will not be work for Washington to send soldiers here to kill us. Come now! When they arrive may be we will lie down and let them kill us; why need they be afraid? But if you do not go away with your brothers before daylight, we will rub you out. Do you hear that?"

"I will not go away before daylight, neither do you dare to wipe me out. The Father Washington will not destroy you nor send soldiers to you. Wished he to do this, he could with a small bottle of medicine blow up your whole town, and the mesa of

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[10] This myth is to be published in a forthcoming issue of the Journal of American Folk-Lore, together with a version of the origin myth of Zuñi and a Papago origin myth. I have taken the liberty of editing it separately, since I doubt if any but incidental reference was made to the myth or, as Mr. Cushing says, highly abbreviated mention, in the stormy meeting he describes. In fact, in a concise monthly report to the Bureau, Mr. Cushing states that he recorded the myth in the days subsequent to the meeting.—E. C. P.

solid rock beneath it. You are fools who think not of your wives and children when you speak thus."

At this point my interpreters all left their seats. The Walpi chiefs led by Nanahe besought me to leave immediately. I told them to shame themselves and sit down. The cowards deserted me. Pulákakai alone remained. Presently he, too, said he must go. I told him, "Go, then; I will talk to Tathlti in Spanish." Pulákakai went. Tathlti then turned to me and said in Spanish: "These beasts are fools. They may kill you; they may not kill you, who knows? They are wizards. You sit here and let them call you dung, and do not leave them. That is proof, they say, that you are not from Washington; for 'a son of Washington would grow angry and leave,' say they."

"Yes, but it is because I am speaking not for myself but for Washington, that I do not get angry and leave."

At this juncture, Pulákakai came in again. He grinned and told me he had a pistol under his blanket, for which I thanked him. He then sat down behind me.

"Now," said I to him, "tell these men what I say to you, every word. When you have done, let fall your blanket and show your pistol. I will do the same, and we will go out. Tell them that they are fools and burros, babies who know how to talk, but not how to think what they say; that I know better far than they do what their ancients said; that my father, the chief with one arm who was here years ago,[11] could tell me far more than they; that contrary to what they say their ancients had never said that the older brother and the younger commanded each other to act like beasts of prey, first fondling, then tearing one another to pieces. What is their proof? *We* have ancient books with marks of our fathers in them which we read."

With some hesitation Pulákakai interpreted what I had said. Several of the leaders jumped up and wrapped their blankets more closely about their loins, freeing their hands. Tathlti laughed and in a loud voice jeered them and turning to me, said, "Wéno wéno (bueno)!"

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[11] Major J. W. Powell is referred to. He was taken into the *patki* clan (Fourth Annual Report, Bur. Am. Ethnology, p. 517).—E. C. P.

Presently the excited "wizards" quieted. They then turned to me more calmly and said, "We, too, have records in marks on magic stones. One is the Rock of Death given to us by the corpse demon after we came from the cave worlds. The other is the stone which our ancients made that we might not forget their words."

"I can read all writing," said I, "bring them out quickly."

"We won't."

"Why not?"

"Because the time has not come. It would be a pity to kill only one man and a few of his friends. We want to wait until Washington comes with his soldiers, *then* we will bring them out!"

I made some mystic passes over my person, then again demanded the stones saying that Americans feared no witches. My 'medicine' was proof against them. "Bring out the stones," I added.

"No, you shall not see them until you can bring soldiers to kill us."

"Come now. I am sleepy; to lie down and dream tastes good. I thought I would ask you if you wished me to trade. Now I see you don't. I will trade anyway. I am going back to Lolulumai's house to sleep. Tomorrow morning I shall bring my goods out and trade. Next day I shall trade, next day and next day. Some one of *you* will wear my clothes and eat my food, before I go. I know you very well. In council you talk bravely; in war you run. Did not a great chief come here fifteen years ago to get powder away from you? You told his little chief who came up here alone that you would kill him and all his soldiers. When the little chief went down to tell his master, the great chief was angry, and himself came up with all his soldiers. Some of you ran away. Tathlti and the good chiefs stayed and gave the great chief all the powder. So when you came back you were angry with Tathlti, and talked so much that he despised you. Now he lives in a far-away town. . . . May you all pass a good night. I must go home to sleep." Then I took up my papers, waiting for Pulákakai to interpret my speech. Whether he did this correctly or not, the opponents about the ladder grew

furious as he talked. I exhibited my pistol, and went toward the ladder. Aside from a great deal of loud talking they did nothing, letting me pass out. As we left them, I heard old Tathlti laughing and talking louder than all the others.

When I told Lolulumai of my intention to remain he at first advised me to go, offering us his burros; but when he saw I was determined, he said he would watch with me, and, gathering some of his relatives and friends about the house, he asked me to fix my guns and wait. He talked to me, cried, and begged that I ask Washington for soldiers[12] to help get rid of the witches.[13] He told me they were the ones who opposed the acceptance of annuities, and caused all the trouble in Oraibi, keeping his people poor and dependent on the Moqui. He gave the names of the leaders of the opposition as follows: Kuii'nainiwa. [War chief in 1893 and later],[14] Pitchifuia (would-be successor to Lolulumai), Muiinwa, Kuh'nina (Coconino), Patuisniwa (Caller [i.e. Crier chief]), Hévima,[15] Muishonaitiwa.[16]

He also gave the names of the friends (in council) of Americans, as follows: Lolulumai, Tathlti, Tuiba, Kátchinumana.

To shorten this account, I may add in brief that the Walpi chiefs had deserted us, together with Nanahe, fearing not so much

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[12] Voth, writing in 1903, states that "Lólоloma was at one time, years ago, imprisoned by the hostile faction in one of the kivas and he believes to this day that he would have been left in that kiva to starve if the representatives of the government had not rescued him." ("The Oráibi Oáqöl Ceremony," pl. IV. Field Columbian Museum Pub. 84. Anthrop. Ser., VI, no. 1, 1903).—E. C. P.

[13] Here it is quite obvious, in connection with the list that follows, that the Town chief is referring merely to his enemies, among whom are the War chief, the Crier chief, and the chief of the Snake Society, in no sense an organized group of wizards. In Mr. Cushing's earlier paragraphs on witch organization he was undoubtedly led astray by the desperate accounts by Lolulumai of the feud he was engaged in.

Was Bandelier possibly influenced in writing in 1885 The Delight Makers by some account of the Oraibi feud that Cushing may have given to him?—E. C. P.

[14] Voth, H. R. "The Oraibi Soyal Ceremony," p. 12. Field Columbian Mus. Pub. 55, Anthrop. Ser., III, no. 1, 1901.—E. C. P.

[15] Hóveima, Young-Corn clansman, member of Snake Society in 1896 (Voth, H. R. "The Oraibi Summer Snake Ceremony," p. 282, Field Columbian Mus. Pub. 83, Anthrop. Ser. III, no. 4).—E. C. P.

[16] Mashangöntiwa, Snake clansman, was in 1896 Chief of the Snake Society (Ib., pl. CL. B).—E. C. P.

violence, I presume, as magic, yet giving a serious cast to the whole affair. Therefore I wrote hastily to Victor Mindeleff, in charge of the expedition, asking him to return as soon as practicable, as trading to any extent would be impossible, and that doubtless we were in considerable danger, although I did not expect serious consequences. This message I sent by the hand of a Tewa Indian, by whom it was delivered to a Walpi who took it to Keam's Cañon.[17]

Before sunrise next morning, our opponents were passing back and forth, one or two by the place I occupied. They made no further demonstration, yet one of them was always stationed opposite to watch our operations from a distance.

I put samples of all my trading material on exhibition in the plaza to invite trade. Some women and children came around. One requested me through Pulákakai to take the goods inside, saying that she would then trade with me. Following her advice, I had brisk trade on that and the succeeding two days, getting more than two hundred specimens together. On the third day, however, almost our only customers were Tathlti and Tuiba who explained that the wizards had threatened to poison one of the bags of American flour and to medicate some of the clothing with magic, so that whoso ate or wore it would perish or have horrible torture. Once or twice Pulákakai grabbed his pistol and appeared frightened on hearing orders called from the house tops. On the fifth morning the wagons arrived, and we bade farewell to foolish, bull-dozed Oraibi.

II. ORAIBI IN 1890

By J. Walter Fewkes

A few months ago a visitor lately returned from Arizona described briefly the present condition of Oraibi, the largest pueblo of the Hopi. A village was situated on the same site in 1583 and has been continuously inhabited to a few years ago, but is

[17] I regret that I cannot give this letter in full, as it was reported afterward that I wrote in great fright, begging Mr. Mindeleff to come immediately, or we should all be murdered, our goods stolen, etc.,—all trash. Doubtless Mr. Mindeleff still preserves the letter; if so, it will speak for itself.—Note by Cushing.

now practically abandoned and will soon be numbered as one more deserted ruin.

The writer first visited this pueblo over thirty years ago (1890) and claims to have seen it before the development of the unhappy schism that finally led to the downfall of the village. He believes he is one of the first living ethnologists to study the Hopi people, although his researches were confined to villages on the East Mesa. Prior to his visit several ethnologists had visited Oraibi, among whom may be mentioned Capt. Bourke and other army officers, Mr. Cushing, Major Powell, the Mindeleffs, and several others.

One of the first Americans to live with the Hopi for purposes of study was Dr. Jeremiah Sullivan, or, as he was called by them, Urwica. When the writer began work at Walpi, Urwica was remembered as the American who amputated the arm of the mother of Pautiwa, the chief of the Bow priesthood. He slept in the pueblo, ate Hopi food, and worked on the farms with the Hopi, but he left Walpi a few years before the writer began his Hopi studies. He published a few short notes on the Hopi but no elaborate work on this interesting people. Mr. A. M. Stephen, an educated Scotchman, who gave the closing years of his life to the study of the Hopi, and died in 1894 in Keam's Canyon, amassed a great fund of information about both Hopi and Navaho, and did more than any other pioneer student in opening up this most interesting field of American ethnology. His contributions to our knowledge of the Hopi Snake dance are known to all students, and all early visitors and students have been indebted to him for ethnological information. The writer takes this opportunity to again record his obligation to Mr. Stephen for his aid in Hopi studies from 1890 to 1894, the year he died. No student of the early Hopi should neglect to mention the name of Mr. T. V. Keam, the Indian trader for many years at Keam's Canyon. His hospitable ranch and genial personality added much aid and comfort to early visitors to the Hopi.

Of the manners and customs, the sociology, and the religious life, comparatively little was known in 1890. Capt. Bourke's book, the first important work in English on the Hopi, had made

known the existence of a Snake dance among these Indians at Walpi; but of other great ceremonials nothing was recorded even by Bourke. The ethnologic field was practically a virgin one. At that time the Hopi were universally called the Moqui or Moki, a term meaning "dead," reaching back to the seventeenth century. A few of the Hopi spoke Navaho, one or two spoke Spanish, and very few were familiar with English. There were no interpreters. The rule excluding visitors from the kivas, without initiations, during ceremonials, was strictly enforced. A few bags of tobacco, supplemented on the last day by a little flour or sugar, were regarded as a sufficient gift to enable one to see the altars of the Snake dances. None of the chiefs thought of charging anything for entering the kivas or going up on the mesa to see a dance, and nothing was paid to visit the reservation. The agent lived at Fort Defiance and seldom visited the Hopi. The railroad was seventy-five miles south. There were one or two Indian traders in that region, but to the northeast and west stretched an indefinite desert.

No one can ever again see the Hopi pueblos as they appeared to the writer on his first visit to them in 1890. In thirty-two years a new generation of Hopi Indians has grown up and with it brought about many modifications. At that time there were only two houses in the plain below Hano. The main spring, from which the Indians obtained their water, was dedicated to the sun, and on that account was called Dawapa, which has since been changed to Polakka, the name of a Tewa man of the pueblo Hano. Around it has been constructed a schoolhouse and supplementary buildings; near it the Hopi buried the Santos of the Mission destroyed in 1680, but where, quien sabe? The physical features of the mesa and the surroundings show few changes. But in the pueblos one might easily fancy himself back in the time of the discoverers. There were in 1890 no iron stoves, tables, chairs, lamps, or any of the so-called comforts of civilization. Many rooms were entered through the roofs. Only a few persons on the Mesa could speak English, and they spoke it only fairly well. Purchases from the store were limited to the simplest staple necessities, as calico, flour, sugar, tobacco, and coffee. There was no wagon road from

the plain to the villages on top of the mesa, narrow, steep trails being the only means of access. One of these trails formerly had a ladder which could be pulled up every night and was called the Ladder Trail. The first white man's store at the East Mesa was kept by a man called Ramon and was situated just over the sand hill south of Coyote Spring. He brought his goods from Santa Fé in wagons, the wheels of which were made of solid disks of wood. Mr. William Keam, from whom Keam's Canyon was named, later had a store with his brother Thomas, who survived him many years. On the cliffs above the north trail was a row of parallel marks showing the number of Utes killed in their last battle with the Hopi, and above, on the edge of the cliff, are still shown the grooves through which the Hopi warriors shot their arrows at incoming foes.

There were only a dozen white visitors at the first Snake dance witnessed by the writer, mostly cowboys drawn from the country round about. There was no large government school in the neighboring Keam's Canyon and the Hopi rarely went to the railroad to trade. They possessed horses and a few cattle and a considerable number of sheep and goats; no pigs, chickens, or turkeys. The Hopi lived mostly on corn, beans, squashes and other vegetables. Matches, tobacco, yeast cakes, and candy were in great demand. In this primitive environment one could readily transport himself in imagination back to the time when Tobar first beheld these people of the mesa. The supply of rabbits, deer, and other game was small, and almost every animal of mammalian form was at times eaten.

The introduction of common household utensils has taken place in the last thirty years. A few fabrics of white man's make were in use, but native blankets, sashes, rabbit-skin rugs, and the like predominated. When the writer visited the Hopi for the first time practically all their cloth was made by themselves, with the exception of the calico pantaloon, or the shirt of scanty proportions which they wore on their shoulders. There was a demand for the flour bags before their contents were consumed, as material for shirts, and it was no uncommon sight during the first years of my stay there to see an adult man wearing a shirt made of a flour bag

with the three X's and the commercial name of the mill on his back, the letters being regarded as ornamental. Incidentally it may be said that the name for flour bag meant "a thing with two ears." Boys and girls up to 12 years went about without clothing.

The razor-back pig was introduced in the autumn of 1891, and the white man's turkey in 1892. The former animal led a rather unpleasant life among the Hopi, being ridden bareback without mercy by the Hopi children. Its customary way of detaching its rider was by crawling through the low doorways of a house wall, entering the basal rooms, and in that way scraping him off.

Although chickens were unknown, eagles were confined in small corrals made of sticks tied together. These eagles were kept for their feathers and the albumen of the eggs was used for glazing masks and not for consumption. They were regarded as sacred, and after death they were deposited in a special graveyard.

About every Indian, certainly every farmer, at that time owned a burro, but it led rather a precarious existence so far as food was concerned. It was a household pet, standing for hours before the houses, making its wants known by braying into the lower rooms. These burros, however, in their search for food often entered fields of corn, and, when that took place, for the first offense it was customary for the Indians to cut off one ear. On a second offense both ears were cut off, and it was no uncommon thing to see these poor animals treated in this manner for their transgressions. The Hopi in 1890 had few wagons and no plows. Everybody traveled on foot, burro, or horseback. There was very little tinware but tin pans were eagerly sought. When first issued one man collected them to hang on the walls of his house for decorative purposes, somewhat as we use Hopi baskets.

The sheep were herded by the women and children, who sometimes carried bows and arrows. Every night these animals were driven into large corrals on the side of the cliff where they were kept until sunrise; often it was 10 A. M., before they were driven out into the fields.

Oraibi was the most populous of the Hopi towns, but on account of its distance from the railroad and its isolation its inhabi-

tants have resisted outsiders with more vigor than those of the other mesas. The government school at Keam's Canyon was opened in 1889. Previous to that time there had been desultory instruction of a very limited kind at Keam's Canyon; but in 1889 the trading store owned by Mr. Thomas V. Keam, from whose brother the canyon was named, was sold to the government, an energetic teacher was engaged, and the school was opened. The people of the East Mesa, and especially of Hano, a pueblo colonized by people from the Rio Grande about 1710 and still speaking the Tewa language, sent the majority of their children to the school. The other towns responded indifferently. The majority came from the East Mesa; few children were obtained from Oraibi, whose chiefs declared that they wished to be let alone, did not want the white people's schools and preferred not to have their children educated in the white man's ways. There were, however, one or two men in Oraibi who for various reasons were very friendly and who were always on hand at the Keam's Canyon agency when anything was disbursed by the government. They were not necessarily the best people in Oraibi. The desire for seclusion antedated the forming of the school, for prior to it there had been more or less trouble between the Oraibi and the whites. At one time Mrs. Stevenson, ethnologist of the Bureau of Ethnology, was detained as prisoner in a kiva from which she was rescued by Mr. Thomas Keam. The Oraibi had repeatedly warned the white people not to attend their religious ceremonials and to keep away as much as possible from the pueblo. The writer was once unceremoniously put out of a kiva by them.

About the year 1890 an order was issued from Washington to divide the land of the Hopi in severalty and surveyors were sent there to survey the Hopi reservation with the view of carrying out the law and apportioning the land. About that time the writer was living at Walpi and took part in a conference which was held in that pueblo regarding this survey. The chiefs were very much disturbed and resented the white people looking over the land through tubes and—in their eyes a more grievous sin—mysteriously putting wooden sticks in the ground. They desiring to know the meaning of this, it was explained to them that the white

man was preparing to grant to each family a plot of land which would be registered in Washington and be protected as the property of their children forever. The chiefs said that there was no necessity for doing this because many of their farms were cultivated by clans that had received them from their ancestors, and in some cases the ownership was inherited from ancestral gods or came to them on account of some incident which occurred in connection with their early migrations. Moreover, it was found that they had an ancient system of land tenure which provided for indigent or unfortunate clans. If the wind blew away the soil from any farm so that barren clay was exposed and no crops could be grown, a council was held and a new farm site was allotted to the unfortunate clan. The aboriginal boundaries of farms were strictly observed and understood by all the inhabitants of the village. The chiefs desired that the government should respect this ancient ownership.

The few friendly Americans that lived near the Hopi looked at the tribal law in a somewhat similar way and a petition was started at that time on behalf of the Indians, drawn up and signed by their sympathizers. This petition also bore the totems of every Indian family, and certainly never before did a more remarkable collection of pictures of snakes, bear's claws, etc., reach the land office. The presence of the surveyors had more or less irritated the Indians and on their departure the Oraibi immediately pulled up the majority of the sticks. The opening of the school at Keam's Canyon increased the misunderstanding, for a certain number of Oraibi boys and girls were taken from Oraibi to attend the school, from which several promptly ran away and returned to their homes. Various other irritations led to the issuing of an order in 1891 to arrest several of the chiefs of Oraibi who had become outspoken, and a small force of soldiers, with the school-teacher and agent, went to the town for that purpose. The gossip in a community like a pueblo is always very great; it is in fact one of the means by which the functions of the town are promoted in an orderly manner and petty crimes prevented. The writer was living in Walpi at the time of the attempt to arrest the Hopi chiefs, with Mr. John G. Owens, a

zealous assistant who later lost his life in the cause of science at Copan, Honduras. The party sent over to make the arrest consisted of a detachment of six men from a company of cavalry that had camped in Keam's Canyon 15 miles east of the first mesa. Besides these six soldiers the party included the schoolteacher, the agent, and an interpreter. The soldiers passed the East Mesa about noon and stopped en route at our camp. It was suggested that their force was not large enough to effect an arrest of the chiefs, as the population of Oraibi at that time was about 1,200 people and they had many warriors. The distance from Walpi to Oraibi is several miles, and later in the afternoon the company returned without having made the arrest. What occurred at Oraibi was learned from the interpreter, a Tewa Indian, Tom Polacca, who could speak English fairly well. On entering Oraibi they found, as anticipated, that the whole pueblo had made preparations to resist the soldiers, and the warriors had stationed themselves on the tops of the houses and were armed with bows and arrows and old firearms, some of which may have dated back to the Conquest. The soldiers dismounted and were aligned in one of the main plazas. The officer in command stated the purpose of the visit and proceeded to arrest the chiefs, but no attention was paid to his summons. At this point there occurred an aboriginal custom which has not to my knowledge every been recorded, namely, the method of opening hostilities.

The Hopi have several supernatural beings associated with war, one of whom is called the God of Death, another the Little War God, and the third the mother of the Little War God, known as the Spider Woman. The function of the latter is more or less advisory. She is the mother of the twin gods of war. A man, clothed to represent her, approached the force drawn up on the plaza and advised them to leave, stating that trouble would result if they did not do so. The next personification to approach represented the God of Death, clothed to represent Masawuh. He wore a black mask painted with spots and carried various objects, among which was a bowl filled with a liquid medicine that had been prepared for the occasion, and as he

passed along the line of soldiers he sprinkled them all with this medicine, using for this purpose a feather. He peremptorily ordered the soldiers to leave the pueblo before the appearance of the Little War God, when hostilities would immediately begin. So distinct were these assertions, so small the force of the white men, and the warriors of Oraibi were so formidable in numbers, that the soldiers did not await the appearance of the third personator, Little War God, but withdrew from Oraibi and made their way in order across the plains to the remainder of their force camped in Keam's Canyon, passing my camp at the foot of the East Mesa. This Little War God is the leader of the warriors in their war parties and is known by his knitted cap with a rounded point somewhat resembling a German helmet. His shield is adorned with a figure of the sun and he wears various symbols of war and is decorated with feathers painted red. The parting information given to the Oraibi by the officer in command was that the white soldiers were coming back to punish them for disregarding the law of the country in which they lived. On his return to Keam's Canyon a courier was sent to Los Angeles, California, stating that the Hopi were bad and asking for additional troops. This news was magnified as it spread among the Indians and caused a great deal of excitement and resentment. Mr. Owens and myself, being the only white men at the mesa, were invited to follow the soldiers back to Keam's Canyon, an invitation which we were at first inclined to accept thereby abandoning our ethnological work; but on mature deliberation we decided to remain but to be on guard, fearing that the Oraibi might come to the East Mesa. Shortly news came of the approaching cavalrymen, being transmitted from one person to another, very much magnified; and as the Indians had never seen a large force of American soldiers or heard the great guns which they compared with lightning, they greatly feared that the attack might be disastrous to them. About ten days after the withdrawal of the soldiers from our camp the reenforcement from Fort Wingate and other military posts appeared. There were in this accession two companies of cavalry and four Hotchkiss guns. The gun carriages and ammunition were followed by about

one hundred Navahos, who, learning that something was going to occur among the Hopi, had joined the soldiers. As the procession wended its way out of the hills, crawling into the plain like a great snake, it made an imposing appearance. The commanding officer was Major Corbin who, accompanied by Mr. Keam, led the force to get the Indians to furnish hay and grass for the horses. It was feared that the springs would not furnish enough water. As the soldiers passed the East Mesa the chiefs from Walpi came down and promised allegiance, that their own town might not be harmed. In case of an emergency the pueblos rarely act together. There was no union between Walpi and Oraibi; this was Oraibi's trouble and the Walpi left them to settle it as best they could, though affording no help to the soldiers save to bring food to their horses (Fig. 17). Mr. Owens and the writer were invited to join the party, which camped at Toreva, the Sun Spring of the Middle Mesa.

Orders were issued to be ready to start at 2 o'clock the next morning. Men who were sent ahead with a cannon to take possession of the high land overlooking Oraibi started early in the morning and we followed, arriving at the great spring at Oraibi just before sunrise. Word was passed along not to drink water from the spring, as it was probably poisoned—the same old story that was circulated when the Spaniards first entered Tusayan. The soldiers were drawn up about the spring and word sent up the mesa by a courier that six of the foremost men should come down and place themselves under arrest. In about half an hour these chiefs appeared, looking very anxious for the future of themselves and their town. The writer happened to be standing near Major Corbin as the first of the chiefs approached and saw him present to the Major a flat stone upon which were certain marks. The stone was handed to us for examination and when the Hopi was asked to explain it he said it was the testament given to his ancestors by the gods securing to the clans of Oraibi control of all the country about their town. This stone was later passed to other officers and then returned to the Indians. A search was made for it subsequently, but it was impossible to find it or to gain any further information regarding its whereabouts.

The six men who obeyed the summons to come down from the mesa were put in charge of soldiers and marched up the narrow trail, while the other soldiers went up the long trail or main entrance to the town. Constant use of this trail by many

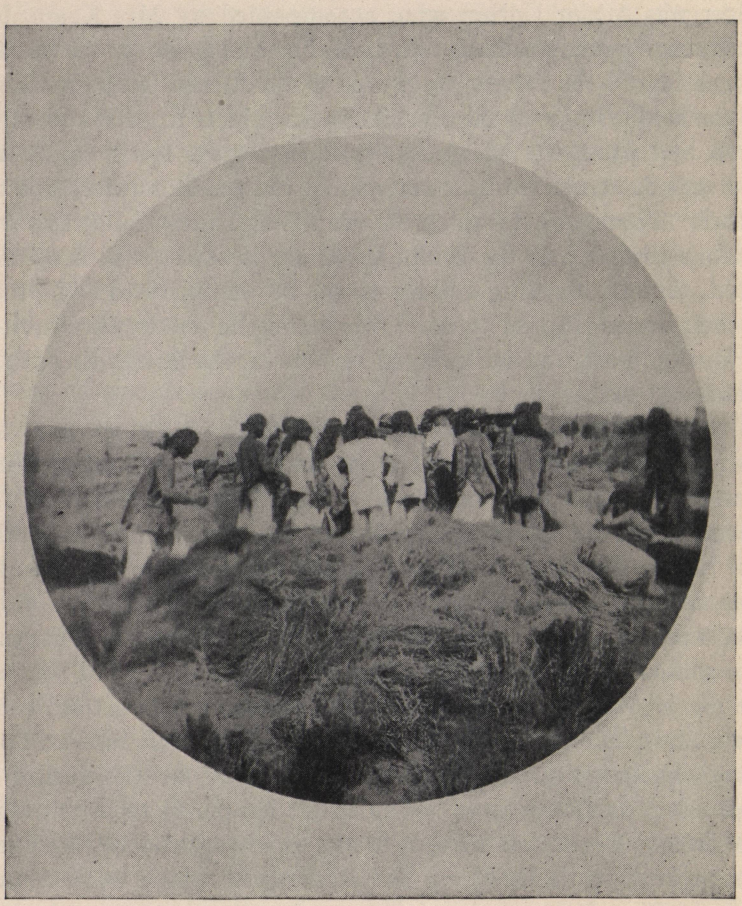

FIG. 17.—Hopi Indians gathering grass for the horses of the punitive expedition to Oraibi in 1891. Photograph by Fewkes.

people from an unknown antiquity has worn a groove in the rock several feet deep in places. As the command approached the town there stood in the middle of this trail a man of middle age clothed to represent the war chief and by his side was a younger man about eighteen years of age dressed in the same way. The

older man was asked who he was and whether he was going to fight. He responded, "I am the warrior chief representing the War God and this is my son, the hereditary war chief. We are willing to fight, but our people are not; we wish you would take us as hostages and do with us what you like, but do not destroy my people."

The writer never recalls this episode on the trail to Oraibi, which happened thirty years ago, without admiration for this war

FIG. 18.—The population of Oraibi crowded together on the mesa point. The soldiers were drawn up between the village and the Indians. Town crier (in white shirt) urges the chief to confer with the officers. Photograph by Fewkes.

chief of Oraibi. This man was put under arrest with his son and marched into the pueblo, followed by the troops. When we entered we found the place deserted. Not a person was in sight. The windows and doors were closed and plastered up with adobe: even dogs were absent; there was not a sign of any person. Someone said, "They are out on the point"; we marched out through the town, and there on the point of the mesa, looking south, were huddled the whole population of Oraibi, the women crying, the men sullen and defiant (Fig. 18). Many of them carried baskets on

their backs, apparently containing all of their possessions. Major Corbin drew up a line of troops across the mesa from one rim to the other between the pueblo and the place where the people were gathered (Fig. 19). The soldiers dismounted and a command was

FIG. 19.—Dismounted U. S. Cavalry with Oraibi in rear. Punitive expedition to Oraibi, 1891. Photograph by Fewkes.

sent to those who had control of the cannon to put it in position. The Indian chiefs were then invited to come forward and have a smoke-talk. The six chiefs had meanwhile arrived and were seated on the ground, guarded by the soldiers who had arrested them (Fig. 20). At first, in reply to the command of the officer, not a chief advanced, but after repeated invitations a considerable number took seats near those who had been brought up from the spring. The Hopi were then informed that the cannon would be fired in order that they might see how powerless they were to resist the white people. While we were watching the shooting which had for

its target a distant peach orchard and were looking at the sand flying in the air as a result of the explosions one of the chiefs in the arrested party jumped away from his guard and escaped, plunging over the edge of the mesa, which was very high. He was pursued by

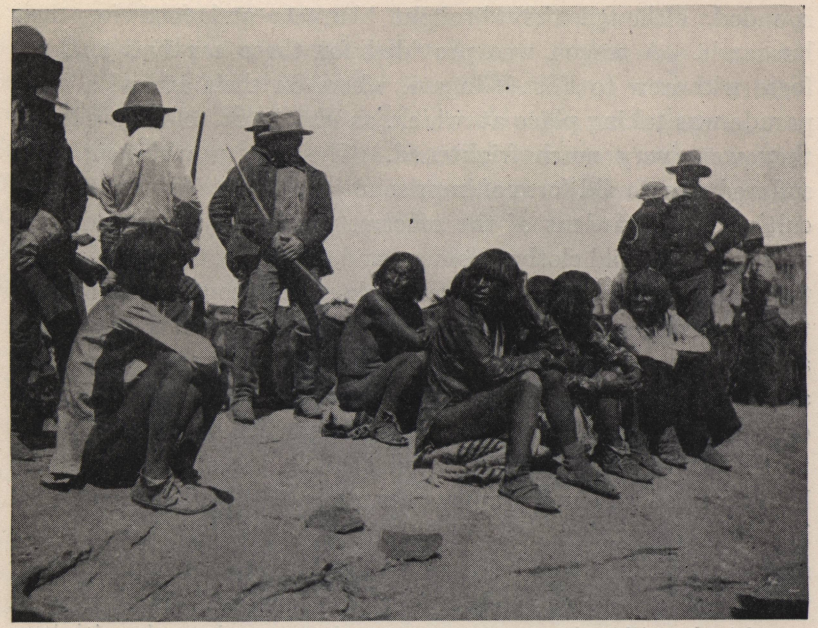

FIG. 20.—Oraibi chiefs captured by Major Corbin's command in the summer of 1891. Photograph by Fewkes.

his former captors, who fired at him without effect. Orders were given to the soldiers not to shoot indiscriminately as it would endanger the lives of the Hopi. A few soldiers were told to pursue the Indian and bring him back; but they were unable to capture him. A number of Navahos who accompanied the expedition renewed the search and, although they did not capture the fugitive, they did find that in the caves of the rocks below the rim of the mesa the Oraibi had hidden all their wealth—pottery, blankets, silverware, and everything of value they possessed. The Oraibi were informed that the five chiefs would be carried away to Fort Wingate. The major gave the Oraibis good advice and

then the soldiers returned to the Middle Mesa, camping that night near the spring called Toreva. The arrested men were tied together with ropes for the night and in the morning when we started back home they were told that if they wished their wives to accompany them the women could do so. No woman responded, although they brought blankets and food for their husbands. A wagon was provided for these captives and the force withdrew to Fort Wingate, where on their arrival a dress parade was taking place at which, as was later told by a Hopi, they were very much frightened. The only punishment they suffered was a mild form of imprisonment. They were detailed to cultivate the gardens of the officers, which they did, and were presented with old clothes from around the camp, the gift of which they greatly appreciated. From subsequent conversations with them the writer found they were much pleased with their sojourn and never ceased to tell of their pleasure at having been prisoners at that post. This event, however, did little to quell the hostile element, and in course of time the feeling which had been opposed to the white people was directed against one another, factions being formed at enmity among themselves. Oraibi was divided into two classes, hostiles and friendlies. They hated each other so much that men who belonged to the Antelope or Snake society would not attend each others' celebrations, and as time went on this hostility became so great that one branch withdrew and founded a new town called Hotavila. This new town later increased in size at the expense of Oraibi and another, Pakabi, was founded so that probably in the course of time Oraibi will be deserted and its history will be investigated only by archaeological methods.

One word more. As years pass and the Hopi culture is a thing of the past there will be an ever-increasing interest in these Indians and it would be desirable to preserve one or more of these pueblos for the sightseer and visitor. Oraibi is now almost deserted and is falling into ruin. In a few years it will suffer great destruction. Why should it not be preserved as a monument, a type or object lesson to future Americans of the nature of one kind of house of the American aborigine?

The splitting up of Oraibi a few years ago into fragments, each a separate pueblo, has probably occurred in pueblo migration history again and again, although the reverse, viz., consolidation of clans or groups of clans, is more common. In the roster of clans, including both living and extinct, in a village like Walpi, there is a disproportion in the number of living inhabitants to clans or groups of clans, especially when we add synonyms and defunct clans to the number of the living. For instance there were at Walpi in 1900, 205 living inhabitants belonging to 11 clans or peoples (groups of clans) but there are many other social units that the Hopi include in each group. The discussion of Hopi sociology is, however, a subject not to be considered now, although I have considerable unpublished data on the extinct clans of Walpi and on the clan synonymy of these pueblos.

III. ORAIBI IN 1920

By Elsie Clews Parsons

Oraibi, the Hopi town on Third or West Mesa, has presented during the last few decades an instance of that process of tribal or town division which has probably been a character of Pueblo Indian life for centuries. The Oraibi split was a consequence of friction from contact with white culture, just as splits on the Rio Grande, tradition runs, were due in Spanish days to foreign contact. But if Southwestern ruins say anything, long before the advent of the Conquistadores the habit of town splitting must have developed.

In 1891, Voth records,[1] "strenuous efforts" were made to secure pupils for the government school in Keam's Cañon, a measure bitterly resented by some of the people of Oraibi who were also opposed to such government undertakings as the allotment of land in severalty, the building of houses below the mesa, and the introduction of American clothing and agricultural machinery. The town chief (*gigmungwi* or chief of the houses) Lolúlomai, Bear clansman, was sympathetic to the pro-American

[1] "The Oraibi Soyal Ceremony," p. 9. Field Columbian Museum Pub. 55. Anthrop. Ser. III, no. 1. 1901.

faction, and so the anti-Americans recognized Lomanhuñyoma as their *gigmungwi*. Lomanhuñyoma was the chief of the Spider people,[2] a clan group connected or equated with the Bear people.

From recently acquired data it has become clear that the Hopi clanship system consists of what in a discussion of Iroquois organization[3] Goldenweiser has called maternal families,[4] which are more or less loosely connected as a common group or clan. Each of these maternal families has a name, a maternal or stock house where fetiches, masks, etc., are kept, and a male head or chief together with a female head, "our oldest mother," as a Hopi will refer to her, the senior or representative woman of the stock house. The male head is also closely associated with this house. He is also the chief of any ceremony which is "handed," as the Hopi say, by the clan. In other words, a ceremony is primarily in charge of a maternal family or family connection,[5] rather than of the clan as a whole.

The maternal families are socially stable organizations, subject to extinction only through natural causes, but the clan of which they are a part is more or less socially unstable, i.e., the maternal families combine in different ways in different towns and in course of time in different ways in the same town. For example, at Walpi Rabbit people (or maternal family) and Tobacco people form one clan, whereas at Oraibi Rabbit-Tobacco people combine with Parrot-Kachina people into a clan, and on Second Mesa (Mishongnovi), according to Dr. Lowie, with Badger-Butterfly-Porcupine people. At First Mesa the Reed people go in, as the Hopi say, with the Sun-Eagle-Little-war-gods people, and at Shöhmopavi on Second Mesa the Reed people also combine with the Sun people, whereas on Third Mesa it is the

[2] Already in 1883 this group appears to have been anti-American. See "Oraibi in 1883," this issue, p. 259, according to which the anti-American leader claimed to be *gigmungwi* as a descendant from Spider and Bat, as did Lomahuñyoma a few years later. ("The Oraibi Soyal Ceremony," p. 9.)

[3] Summary Report of the Geological Survey, Canada, 1913, pp. 365–372. "A maternal family embraces all the male and female descendants of a woman, the descendants of her female descendants, and so on." (p. 368).

[4] This was first pointed out by Dr. Lowie in a field report made in 1915.

[5] Goldenweiser notes that among the Iroquois the succession of chiefs follows the lines of the maternal families.

Greasewood (*t'ebe*)-Bow-Sparrow-hawk-Crane people that the Reed people are with. On Second Mesa the Sparrow-hawk-Crane people combine with the Squash people (Lowie), extinct on Third and First Mesas. Again, in one town there may be but one group to one clan, but this group may bear a double name from its equation with another group in another town. In Hano on First Mesa there is a Sand clan, but the group may be referred to as Snake or Lizard clan, since it is equated with the Walpi Snake clan, formed of a Snake maternal family and a Lizard maternal family (also a Cactus maternal family). In Hano "Snake" and "Lizard" are *merely the other names* of the Sand clan. In general talk with Hopi it is extremely difficult to discover whether the double name is merely *that*, the expression of an equating tendency, or whether it actually represents different groups.

As maternal families shrink, their combination in the same town in clan or ceremony may change. For example, today on First Mesa there are but three Snake clansmen to perform the Snake ceremony, among them the Antelope society chief. But the Snake people have combined with the Lizard people and the Cactus[6] people, formerly, tradition goes, distinct clans. And in 1919 it was a Lizard clansman who was chief of the ceremony, calling the preliminary smoke assembly, in the maternal house of the Cactus people. Hitherto all the Snake people have been in the ceremony, but not all the Lizard people. However, so diminished are the Snake (and Cactus) representatives that other Lizard men, I am told, will have to be invited to the smoke assembly of 1921.

In 1894 Dr. Fewkes records an independent Pine (*tenyo*) clan at Tewa;[7] in 1920 the Pine people were described to me as belonging to the Bear clan, and as corroboratory of this I noted that the daughter of a Tewa Bear clan man was named Si'kyayonsi, Yellow Standing (Pine implied).

Since there are no separate Hopi terms for maternal family and for the clan as a whole, and since there is a native tendency

[6] Note that no Cactus group appears in the Snake-Lizard group of Third Mesa.

[7] "The Kinship of a Tanoan-Speaking Community in Tusayan," in American Anthropologist, (o. s.), VII, 166, 1894.

to equate groups and little or no native knowledge of the actual grouping from town to town, it is not surprising that students have found the Hopi clan system baffling. And yet its analysis is indispensable to an understanding of town history—as in the case of Oraibi. Why was Lomanhuñyoma taken as town chief by the conservative faction? Because he was the head of the maternal family[8] which was at that time a part of the Bear clan—and there is a tradition that the town chief should come from the Bear clan. The town chief is in fact in every town a Bear clansman, except in Walpi,[9] and there the Flute ceremony dramatizes the change of dynasty, so to speak, from the Bear clan to the Millet (*leh*) clan. And why are there today no Bear people, only Spider-Bluebird people, at Hotavila, the colony that went out from Oraibi at the time the split of the two factions was fully consummated? Because in Hopi practice it is quite possible to regroup maternal families within the larger unit we call a clan and because, in this case, the Bear maternal family remained at Oraibi as one clan unit and the Spider-Bluebird maternal families became established at Hotavila as another distinctive clan unit.

On September 28, 1906, the anti-American, conservative faction left Oraibi, to settle about six miles to the northwest on the cedar covered slope since known as Hotavila (*ho*, cedar, *avila*, slope). They left in a body—I had the story from one of the immigrants—men, women and children, in wagons, on horseback, afoot, and they put up temporary shelters, "hogans" said my informant, to live in while they were at work on their houses. That work, when winter was setting in, was rudely interrupted by the government, and men were arrested and sent away to Carlisle and other schools (according to a First Mesa informant all the men, young and old, all but one old man, were carried off to school or to jail), leaving the women and children to face the winter in their unfinished houses.

Such is the tradition current among the people, to be reckoned with in considering the Hotavila attitude of hostility to the

[8] The lineal descendant of Spider Woman, as Voth reports, meaning, I take it, that Spider Woman fetiches were in the custody of his family.

[9] See, too, p. 296.

government and white people as well as the systematic and self-conscious endeavor of Hotavila people to return to archaic ways of life. Shoes and stockings have been discarded together with the calico that in recent decades has come everywhere to be worn under the native woolen dress; and the square shoulder piece which completes a woman's dress has been lengthened from the hip line to the bottom of the skirt, interesting evidence of a tradition in dress of which I, for one, was quite unaware. A revival of the vanished art of making turkey feather cloaks would be too much to expect; but in no town have I seen as many flocks of turkeys, which points, I have no doubt, to an unusual devotion to prayer-stick making. Chicken feathers are used in the game of *matabi*[10] which about several doorways I saw the children playing. As I was struck by the secularization of this game which at Zuñi is exclusively ceremonial,[11] so my First Mesa escort was struck by the early morning bathing of the men. He had watched them descend to the spring at the foot of the declivity on the north side of town, and he had counted, he told me, at least seven baths. About this spring there are a considerable number of women's gardens, laid out in little mud walled squares exactly as at Zuñi. Notched log ladders are in use, if sparingly, and the houses are two storied and built in clusters. I counted five kivas. There are even ruins.[12] The fourteen year old town betrays its youth in no respect; it might well have been standing there for centuries.

Hotavila has been true to type, too, in the matter of feud or dissension. Four years after its founding, in 1910, a progressive or pro-American group had developed, this time to be thrust out by the conservatives. The progressive group returned to Oraibi;

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[10] A thick ring made of corn husks is rolled to a dart of corn cob surrounded by two feathers and pointed with a piece of greasewood (*t'ebe*). On First Mesa children may play this game only in January and February. The game is no longer played by adults. My middle aged informant had seen it played when he was a little boy. The players lined up on two sides, one side throwing the ring, the other side the dart. If the dart throwers "missed ten times, they were beaten."

[11] It has ceremonial associations also at Sia, for the darts of corn cob and hawk feathers have been found in a war god shrine.

[12] When people migrate they are likely to take their house beams with them, I was told, in explanation of the ruinous aspect of Oraibi and even of Hotavila.

but for some reason or other they were not wanted there and so they in turn founded a town, Pakabi, place of reeds (from the reeds, *pakab*, growing around their spring),[13] about two miles away from Hotavila. Of very modern appearance is this town—the houses symmetrically placed around the central plaza, one storied, with brightly painted window frames, and as far as I could see with only one kiva (there are *two*, it is said).

What of the migrations to Hotavila and Pakabi from the point of view of clans? Did the people migrate by clans, in accordance with the familiar theory that Pueblo Indian migration was ever by clan, or did they split up and migrate on some other basis of affiliation? Table I gives the answer—at least in part.

TABLE 1. CLANS OF ORAIBI, HOTAVILA, PAKABI

Oraibi	*Hotavila*	*Pakabi*
1. Bear (*huna*), Spider (*k'oxygan*)	Spider, Blue-Bird	Bear
2. Reed (*pakab*), Greasewood (*t'ebe*), Bow (*awat'*), Sparrow-hawk (*k'ele*), Crane (*at'ók*)	Arrow (*hoxe*) Reed	
3. Snake (*chü*), Sand (*towa'*)	Snake, Sand	Snake, Lizard, Sand
4. Coyote, *Massau*, *kokob*, [Burrowing Owl?] Agave (*kwan*)	Coyote, *Massau*	Coyote
5. Eagle (*kwa*), Sun (*tawa*)	Eagle, Sun	Sun
6. Water-house (*patki*), Young-Corn-ear (*pihkash*), Cloud (*omah*)[1]	Water-house, Young-Corn-Ear, Cloud	Corn
7. Parrot (*kyash*), *kachina*, Tobacco (*pip*), Rabbit (*tab*), Wild Tobacco (*ch'ip*)		
8. Badger (*honana*), Butterfly, (*powölöhoya*)[2]		Badger

[1] Voth includes *Shiwâhpi*, sage. ("The Oráibi Oáqöl Ceremony," p. 5 n. 1, Field Columbian Mus. Pub. 84, Anthrop. Ser. VI, no. 1., 1903.)

[2] Only one woman representative.

[13] A large spring, near which grew cotton woods the first of which was said to have been transplanted from *kishiwuu*, the home of many kachina. A cotton wood branch from Pakabi was placed on the *powamu* altar. (H. R. Voth, "The Oraibi Pawamu Ceremony," p. 108. Field Columbian Mus. Pub. 61. Anthrop. Ser. vol. III, no. 2, 1901).

Given the present distribution, it is clear that the migrations were not by clan, at least as clan has always been defined. But maternal families, as we have considered them, did count, I believe, in the migrations. The case of the Bear-Spider-Bluebird families is in point,[14] and if we knew more about the ceremonial disintegration at Oraibi it would be seen, I surmise, that several of the ceremony-holding maternal families migrated to Hotavila. Others staid on in Oraibi there to perpetuate their ceremonies or, on turning Christian or ultra-American, to let them lapse. Let me digress again to a general consideration of Hopi clanship, in relation to migration and ceremonial ties. The custodian of a clan fetich believes that were he to migrate all his clans-people would have to follow him, and, no doubt, those who attached importance to the fetich would indeed follow him. Now the members of the custodian maternal family are those who most value the fetich and who would stay by it. So that when a Hopi refers to migration of clan he is really referring to migration by fetich-holding maternal family, to him the heart of the clan. To his white auditor he rarely or never makes clear this distinction, firstly because it is so clear to himself and secondly because he is loath to discuss or even refer to the fetiches. And yet in native philosophy it is the clan fetich or the clan mask (*wöye*)—every clan has a *wöye*, I believe, an ancestral mask, although not every clan has a corn bundle fetich (*tiponi*) and in consequence a ceremony—which holds the group together.

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[14] The Spider family from which the town chief was selected by the conservatives were the custodians of the Antelope ceremony in the Snake ceremony and no doubt migrated with their ceremony, since the Snake ceremony is celebrated now at Hotavila and not at Oraibi. (In 1916 Dr. Lowie saw the snake dance at Oraibi without the Antelope group). Already in 1903 the conservative faction had been in control of the Snake ceremony for ten or twelve years, virtually no liberal member of the ceremony participating. (Voth, H. R. "The Oraibi Summer Snake Ceremony," pp. 273, 275, in Field Columbian Mus. Pub. 83, Anthrop. Ser. III, no. 4, 1903.) Whether or not the town chieftaincy has remained with the Spider people at Hotavila is uncertain. Yukyuma is referred to as the Town chief, and in Voth's list of the Antelope society members in 1896 I find that one Yuki'oma is given as a *ko'kob* (Lizard) clansman (Voth 2:283). (There is some error here, as *ko'kob* refers to the Coyote-Firewood clan.)

These days Yukyuma spends mostly in jail in Keam's Canyon, as when he is at large he uncompromisingly opposes sending the children to school.

To return to Oraibi. As noted in Table 2, the *powamu*, *wöwöchim* and Singers (*tataukya*) ceremonies and, of course, the

TABLE 2. CEREMONIAL PERSONNEL OF ORAIBI

	1920	*1903 or before*
Town chief[1] (*gigmungwi*)	Tawakwaptiwa, Bear	Lolu'lomai,[2] Bear
Crier chief (*chaakmungwi*)	Poliyes'tiwa, Reed	Loma'nkwa, Reed
kalehktaka (warrior)	Talasvöyaöma, Coyote	Koyo'nainiwa, Badger[3] (?)
Winter solstice chief (*Soyalmungwi*)	Talaskwaptiwa,[4] Sun	Shökhuñyoma, Bear
Tobacco chief	Talasmönyuṇya, Tobacco	Tala'ssyamtiwa, Tobacco
Medicine chief[5]	Siletstiwa, Badger	
wöwöchim chief	K'oyapi, Sparrow-hawk	
tataukya chief	Masaṇhovah, Parrot	Massavestiwa, *kachina*
powamu chief	Masaṇhovah, Parrot	Süma, Badger, d. 1896.
Snake chief		Qömohoiniwa, brother of Siima. Mashángöntiwa, Snake
Sun clan chief	Talaskwaptiwa	
Bear clan chief	Tawakwaptiwa	
Snake clan chief	Tobeyamtiwa	
Agave clan chief	Lomanlexotiwa d. 1916	
Water-house chief	Lomanhovah d., descendants Christian.	(Drab Flute chief in 1901, Voth)
Parrot clan chief	Masanhovah	
Tobacco-Rabbit clan chief	Talasmönyunya[6]	
Badger clan chief	Siletstiwa	
Reed clan chief	Polyestiwa	
Sparrow-hawk clan chief	K'oyapi	

[1] He and the following five chiefs compose the *momuwit* (the chiefs' assembly). Voth gives the group as composed of Town chief, Crier, War chief, Parrot clan chief, and Tobacco chief of the *Soyal* Society (a Tobacco-Rabbit clansman). "The Oraibi Powamu Ceremony," p. 102, n. 6.

[2] Chief in 1883. See "Oraibi in 1883," this issue, p. 259. In a list of anti-Americans at that time Mr. Cushing refers to Pitchifvia as the would-be *kiakwemosona* (Zuñi) or *gigmungwi* of Oraibi, the man who wanted to succeed Lolu'lomai.

[3] Powamu Ceremony, p. 102, n. 6.

[4] See Voth: Pl. II b.

[5] He participates in every ceremony.

[6] If absent, his place may be filled by Masanhovah, Parrot clan chief.

winter solstice ceremony or *soyala*,[15] are still maintained. *Powamu* was in Voth's day in charge of the pro-American faction. The maternal family here was Badger, and we note that of these people and their affiliated group there are no representatives at Hotavila or Pakabi. In Voth's day, *Oa'qol*, a woman's autumn ceremony, was in charge of Sand people of the pro-American faction.[16] The ceremony is still performed in Oraibi, but it has become generalized, so to speak; it may be performed by anybody, at any season. An affiliated group, Lizard people, were in charge of another woman's ceremony, the *marau*, and Voth records in 1903 that the chief had become Christian and the ceremony was being performed by his half-brother.[17] Today this ceremony has lapsed. Two of the ceremonies associated with *wöwöchim* and Singers have lapsed—the Agave (*kwan*) ceremony whose last chief, Lomanlexotiwa, of the Agave clan people, died about four years ago, and whose sister's son had only been in the ceremony one year and was not qualified, even had he wished (and he is very much Americanized), to carry it on; and the Horn (*ahl*) ceremony whose last chief was Nasiwai'tiwa of the Bow (*awat*) clanspeople. Nasiwai'tiwa is still living, but after a sickness he let his ceremony lapse. It had been "too dangerous for him."[18]

During a very brief visit to Oraibi I secured from an unusually intelligent and frank young man the data in Table 2 on the change of ceremonial personnel since Voth's day. There are many gaps in the information, but besides the record, such as it is, a few interesting points come out, of which the chief is the succession to the town chieftancy. Tawakwaptiwa, the present town chief,

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[15] At this time men are supposed to observe a retreat in the kiva associated with their clan. Colonies or suburbs, like Sichumovi or Mönkopi, do not celebrate *soyala* independently of the mother town. Hotavila and Pakabi, on the other hand, have their own *soyala*. From the fact alone that only four kivas participated in *soyala* at Oraibi in 1899 as against ten in 1897 (Dorsey and Voth 1:12), the final split might have been foreseen.

[16] The Oráibi Oáqöl Ceremony," p. 3. Field Columbian Mus. Pub. 84, Anthrop. Ser. VI, no. 1., 1903.

[17] "The Oraibi Marau Ceremony," p. 11. Field Mus. of Nat. History Pub. 156, Anthrop Ser. XI, no. 1. 1912.

[18] Cf. Voth's observation of men not engaging in the Snake ceremony because they were afraid. ("Oraibi Summer Snake Ceremony," 293.)

is the sister's son of Lolu'lomai, town chief up to 1903, if not after. The name Tawakwaptiwa was given the bearer on initiation into the *wöwöchim* ceremony by his ceremonial father, Talaskwaptiwa, now chief of the winter solstice ceremony. In Voth's day both these men took part in that ceremony, the latter a leading part. The wife of Talaskwaptiwa was a Bear clanswoman and as *soyala mana* had been prominent in the winter solstice ceremony.[19] In 1893 and later the town chief and the winter solstice chief were own brothers, the town chief being also a functionary in the ceremony; today the incumbents are of different clans, but their relationship as individuals is close. In the Tewa town on First Mesa the two offices are held by the same man, that is the town chief (*poañ toyo*) is one of the two chiefs of the winter solstice ceremony. To use the Tewa terms of Rio Grande organization, the summer cacique presides with the winter cacique over the winter solstice ceremony, when they turn the Sun back to summer. Among the Hopi, the offices of Town chief and winter solstice chief are definitely distinguishable, although as one might expect a priori, the jurisdiction of both offices extending to the community as a whole, some conceptual association exists, it seems probable, between the offices. In fact in Oraibi tradition at the time of emergence and after, the Town chief was also the winter solstice chief, and with his clan, the Bear, the winter solstice *kachina* were associated.[20] I may note, too, that the shrine on First Mesa where prayer-sticks are offered at both solstices belongs to the Bear clan. It is the home of Spider Grandmother.[21]

In 1903, Loma'nkwa, town-crier for the pro-American faction, was killed in a ditch cave-in.[22] Unfortunately the relationship between him and his successor, also a Reed clansman, was not known to my informant.

Koyo'nainiwa, War chief (*kalehktaka*), in Voth's day, was said by my informant to have belonged not to the Badger clan

[19] "The Oraibi Soyal Ceremony," p. 13.

[20] Voth, H. R. "The Traditions of the Hopi," pp. 19, 24. Field Columbian Mus. Pub. 96. Anthrop. Ser. VIII, 1905.

[21] The shrine is in the peach orchard a mile or more north of the gap. Unfortunately my notes are uncertain as to whether it is a Tewa shrine or a Hopi.

[22] "The Oraibi Oáqöl Ceremony," pl. IV.

as Voth states, but to the Bear[23] clan and to have held office because of his fighting prowess. But, today, not only at Oraibi, but in all the towns, asserted my informant, the office is filled by a Coyote clansman. This is not true at Walpi and Shöhmopavi at least, where the War chief is a Reed clansman, or at Hano where, as at Shöhmopavi, there is no Coyote clan, and the War chief (Tewa, *p'otali*) is a Cottonwood (*kachina*) clansman, but the statement of the Oraibi informant is interesting as showing the standardizing tendency of a Hopi and as suggesting that with the lapse of warrior-making through war or scalp-taking the war office may have been fitted into the clan or maternal family pattern of office-holding.[24]

Moshohungwa (Masaṇhovah), was in 1899 *kachina* chief in the *powamu* ceremony. This office had belonged in the *kachina* maternal family, however, and there had been considerable discussion about the succession. Moshohungwa, having acted as assistant, was better qualified than Massavestiwa, the nephew of the incumbent who died in 1895. The outcome was that Moshohungwa was to continue as *kachina* chief in *powamu* and that Massavestiwa was to become Singers chief, a position also held by his deceased uncle.[25] Since then, Qömohoiniwa, who was about seventy years old in 1901, has died and the office has passed to Moshohungwa, presumedly the best qualified man for it, passing *out of the Badger clan into the Parrot clan.* And yet in time, if not already, one is likely to be told in Oraibi, I have little doubt, that the office was always in the Parrot clan, such is the standardizing Hopi spirit. It is a pity we do not know how Moshohungwa got the place of Massavestiwa as Singers chief.

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[23] Badger and Bear in Hopi sound somewhat similar and I think that Voth has in this case, as in others I have noted, confused the two words. For example, Siletstiwa (See Table 2) is given by Voth as Bear, whereas my informant gives him as Badger. As medicine chief it is most likely that Siletstiwa is Badger, since the association between the Badger and medicine is, in Hopi opinion, very close. (A like association, by the way, may account for the prominence of the Badger clan in the *kachina* cult among the Hopi, at Zuñi, and at Laguna.)

[24] Again, there may be as at Zuñi a war ceremony which has long since been associated with the Coyote clan. In the war ritual conducted at Oraibi during the winter solstice ceremony a Coyote clansman was, after Voth, the assistant to the War chief.

[25] "The Oraibi Powamu Ceremony," pp. 71–2.

To any student of Pueblo Indian life it will be apparent, even from this fragmentary note, how significant to the general study of Pueblo Indian ceremonialism were an intensive study of the past thirty or forty years of Oraibi history. Here under our eyes has gone on an immensely interesting process of cultural change of which we have as yet but the barest record—to so many of us study of the past is so much more appealing than study of the present, even the present in which the past repeats itself, in terms clearer and more pregnant than archaeology can ever use.

IV. SHÖHMO'PAVI IN 1920

By Elsie Clews Parsons

Shöhmo'pavi lies to the southwest of the two other towns on Second Mesa, about two miles by trail down the cliffs and across the plain, but several miles more by wagon road around the mesa top. Thus off the direct wagon roads between the three mesas, Shöhmo'pavi[1] appears to have been the least visited of all the Tusayan towns and the least described. In fact I have failed to find any specific accounts at all of Shöhmo'pavi.

In December, 1920, I paid a brief visit to Shöhmo'pavi with a Tewa Bear clansman from First Mesa, the father's sister's son of the Sun-watcher of Shöhmo'pavi. We staid in the house not of this connection but of Wisnima, a woman of Tewa descent, a Cloud (Tewa, *Okuah*)[2] clanswoman, whose mother came from Tewa as a child with her parents during a great famine. She married a Bear clansman, and her daughter, our hostess, married a Sun clansman, child of Bear. Wisnima cannot speak Tewa.[3] Wisnima's daughter is married to a Bear clansman, child of Snow, John Növatik or Snowy-foot. This young man's brother is Peter Növamösa or Snowbird. Like other Hopi, they got their patronymic from one of their father's clanswomen, an aboriginal

[1] The name is from *shömo'pa*, a water plant. The old town was built near a spring below the mesa.

[2] One of the clan's "other names" is Snow (*püng*), which equates it with the Snow clan of Shöhmo'pavi (and the *patki*, Waterhouse clan, of Walpi and Oraibi).

[3] And yet her mother's sister's son is K'élang, Sun Watcher of Tewa and Keeper of the War God (*awęle*) images.

practice, and their first name they got in school. I know of no more striking instance than this Hopi naming system of that truly marvelous facility of the Pueblo Indian of pouring old wine into a new bottle.

Clans

The Shöhmo'pavi clans are Bear—Rope—Spider—Blue-bird—Greasy hole (*honyamö*, *piqwösinyamö*, *choshnyamö*, *wikösiñnyamö*), *Kachina*—Parrot (*kachininyamö*, *kyashnyamö*), Snow—Water-house—Young-corn-ear (*növyanyamö*, *patki*, *pihkash*), Sun—Forehead—Reed (*tawanyamö*, *kalangnyamö*, *pakab*)—four exogamous groups. Formerly there were Horn (*ahliñnyamö*) and millet (*lehnyamö*) clans, but before my informant, a man past middle age, was born, they became extinct. Their lands may be used today by anyone.

The migration-naming clan legends are of the same character, just as one might expect, as those of First Mesa and of Third Mesa. Those of the Bear clan and of the Sun clan I recorded in abbreviated form.

After the Bear people came out they found a bear lying dead. They skinned him, and made a rope. After skinning him, they found that a spider had made a web inside the skeleton. So they had the spider in their clan. Pretty soon they found a blue bird sitting on top of the bear. They found that the bear's eyes had been taken out and that the holes were greasy. . . . When the Sun people came up they passed through reeds. They came up as the Sun came up and they saw *his forehead.*[4] . . . It was *palatkwabi* whence they came out, whence all the people came out. (That is, *palatkwabi* is referred to at Shöhmo'pavi, as I have heard it referred to on First Mesa, as the place of emergence, the *shipap*^{u} of the Keresans.)

Kivas

There are five, three side by side on the north edge of town, *choshobi* (Blue-bird kiva)—*obi* means "top" or "up" and appears

[4] In an explanation given on First Mesa the Forehead people were so called because the day they emerged when the sun came up their foreheads were just above ground.

to be the usual term for kiva[5]—associated with the Blue-bird people, *kyashobi* (Parrot kiva), which is the *mong* or chief kiva, and *növaobi* (Snow kiva); another kiva on the east edge of town, *yoya'obi*, associated with the Bear clan; and in one of the two central plazas, *növatökyaobi*, (Snow Mountain, i.e., San Francisco mountain, kiva). *Yoyaobi* had been destroyed, but it was being repaired. Here as elsewhere the kiva was associated with a clan group of builders. From the statement that if a clan got too big for a kiva they would build another kiva, I infer that a clan may have more than one kiva. And this may account for the two Snow kivas. The associations between kivas (as used not by clans but in ceremonies), clans, and ceremonies or offices are given in the following table. All three women's ceremonies are held in the same kiva, Parrot or *mong* (chief) kiva. Since Singers, Agave, Horn, and *wöwöchim* are synchronous ceremonies and we know where the first three are held, *wöwöchim* must be held in either Blue-bird or Snow kiva, and, because of clan affiliations, I guess Blue-bird. Unfortunately, I did not learn of the kiva used in the Snake ceremony or in the Flute ceremony.

Offices and Ceremonies

As in all the towns but Walpi, the Town chief is of the Bear clan. In the other offices there is far less uniformity, little or none in fact. Whereas on First Mesa the Crier chief is Snake, the War chief, Reed, and the Sun-watcher, Water-house, at Shöhmo'pavi the Crier chief is Bear, the War chief and the Sun-watcher, Reed. At Oraibi the Crier chief is Reed, the War chief, Coyote; there is no Sun-watcher. Similarly with the ceremonies, the groups which hand them (*nanapelelu*, they hand it) or pass them on, are different in different towns. The winter solstice ceremony is in charge at Shöhmo'pavi of the *Kachina*-Parrot people, at First Mesa, of Water-house people, at Oraibi, of Sun people, formerly of Bear people; and so with the other ceremonies excepting *powamu* which is steadfastly in the hands of the *Kachina*-Parrot people. I note also that both at Oraibi and at Shöhmo'pavi the Singers society is in charge of *Kachina*-Parrot people.

[5] "The Oráibi Oáqöl Ceremony," p. 5.

In Shöhmo'pavi opinion the Snake society and the war group are identical. The Snake society chief is also the War chief.[6]

There are but three male members of the *Kachina*-Parrot clan, and their ceremonial obligations are heavy. A way out was found. The office of Singers chief is made to rotate between the three men, each holding it for four years. As for the Agave society, sixteen years ago it was decided to take in men from other clans and to have the chief chosen by the members of the society to hold office for four years. The office has been filled four times.

A change of incumbent may also occur in the office of *wöwöchim* chief—at the option of the incumbent—after he has held office for eight years. My informant, a Sun clansman, and child of Bear, had taken over the office from the Bear clansman eight years ago. Then there was disease in his family, and his daughter died, so two years ago he gave the office back to the Bear people.

Possibly this principle of rotation in office has been applied in connection with other ceremonies. A general statement was made to the effect that headship "was too hard to keep for life." They would change every four years, the numbers of the ceremony selecting the head from the members of the clan associated with the ceremony and in the ceremony.[7]

Of this rotation in office my First Mesa escort and interpreter had never heard. Indeed much of the ceremonial data was unknown to him—although this was not his first visit to Shöhmo'pavi. He admitted to me at a later day that he was very much surprised by the differences in custom between First Mesa and Shöhmo'pavi and that his earlier assertions that certain ceremonies had perforce to belong to certain clans were erroneous. He was on his way to becoming an ethnologist.

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[6] At Oraibi members of the Snake society were called warriors, and formerly representatives of the Snake, Coyote, and Burrowing Owl clans acted as police. (Voth, H. R. "The Oraibi Summer Snake Ceremony," pp. 343–4, in Field Columbian Mus. Pub. 83, Anthrop. Ser. III, no. 4, 1903.)

[7] Dr. Lowie reports that at Mishongnovi the town chieftaincy is held in rotation by the Bear, Cloud, and Parrot clans, the term of office being about four years. Bluebird, Bear, *patki* (Cloud), and Squash is the succession in Mishongnovi tradition ("The Traditions of the Hopi," pp. 40–1).

CEREMONIAL ASSOCIATIONS

Clan	Office or Ceremony	Kiva
Bear	Town chief (*gigmungwi*)	
	Crier chief (*chaakmungwi*)	
	wöwöchim.....(?)	Blue-bird
	ahl (Horn).....	*yoya'*
	Marau.....	Parrot
Kachina-Parrot	Winter solstice ceremony (*Soyala*)...	Parrot
	powamu.....	Parrot
	tataukya (Singers).....	Parrot
	kwan (Agave).....	Snow Mountain
Sun-Forehead-Reed	War chief (*kalehktaka*)	
	Snake (*chü*)	
	Sun-watcher (*tawa taima*)	
	wakö'l.....	Parrot
Snow-Water-house-Young-corn-ear	Flute (*len*)	
	lakunt.....	Parrot

THE MEDICINE WHEEL

By GEORGE BIRD GRINNELL

THE so-called Medicine Wheel, in Wyoming, has long been known to a few white men and always to the Indians. Yet many present day Indians appear almost to have forgotten even the vague stories that they have heard from an earlier generation.

Its first mention in type, so far as I know, is found in an account of a trip into the Big Horn Mountains, printed in *Forest and Stream*, vol. 45, p. 269, September 28, 1895, which gives the general location and a rough description of the wheel, as follows:

> On the very top of Medicine Mountain can still be seen the so-called Medicine Wheel, the plan and general arrangement of which bear a striking resemblance to the famous Calendar Stone of Old Mexico. As the name implies, this Medicine Wheel is a circle composed of loose stones. In the middle of it is a hut (also of stone) from which spokes of stones radiate (like in a wheel) to the circumference, there terminating in smaller huts. It is said that these smaller huts were, during the religious ceremonies, occupied by the medicine men of the different tribes, while the larger hut in the center was supposed to be the abode of Manitou. The wheel appears to be of great antiquity.

In the *American Anthropologist* for January-March, 1903, Mr. S. C. Sims[1] published a brief account of it as "A Wheel-shaped Stone Monument in Wyoming," giving a figure which roughly indicates its appearance. Mr. Sims had little information about the matter, and his paper merely calls attention to the construction.

A number of people have visited the Medicine Wheel in recent years; but nothing seems to be known as to its history or the uses to which it was put. It is built on the flat-topped shoulder of a bald mountain on the western side of the Big Horns, just about timber line, or perhaps a little above it—perhaps 8700 feet. The shoulder, which is almost without soil, consists of a hard white or cream-colored limestone which weathers into slabs or flat

[1] Am. Anthrop., vol. 5, no. 1, N. S., p. 107, January-March, 1903.

fragments; and the wheel is made up of pieces of this rock arranged on the ground in a certain order. Because it has been disturbed by visitors and walked over and disarranged by wandering cattle, accurate measurements of it can not be given.

The wheel (Figs. 21 and 22) consists of a wide and somewhat irregular circle of large stones, which has a diameter of from seventy-four to eighty feet. In the center of this circle is an inner circle of large stones—piled up in a wall—about twelve feet in outside diameter and about seven feet inside, and from two and a half to three feet high (Fig. 23). From the outer side of the wall of this inner, the central, circle, twenty-eight lines of small stones, set close together, radiate to the border of the outer circle.

The arrangement of these stones justifies the term wheel, and the word medicine obviously refers to the mystery or "medicine" which enshrouds it. The outer circle of stones is considered the rim of the wheel, the central circle its hub, and the lines of stone running from the inner to the outer circle its spokes. The outer circle is not complete, for on its easterly side the rim of the wheel is interrupted for about two and a half feet, and this interruption furnishes an entrance or gateway into the circle. The opening actually faces a little south of east.

Behind, west of, and about twelve feet without the rim of the wheel, a little south of west from the opening in the wheel's rim to the east, is an oval construction of limestone slabs, nearly long enough for a man to lie down in (Fig. 24). It is connected with the outer circle—the rim of the wheel—by a line of small stones which seems to be a continuation of one of the spokes of the wheel. The wall of this small oval is continuous, there is no opening in it; but it is so low that it may be stepped over at any point.

Just without the outside circle of the wheel, and connected with it, except in one case, are four low circular or oval constructions with walls fifteen to eighteen inches high—enclosures in which a man might sit or recline. Two of these open toward the northeast, and all touch the circle, except the one to the southeast where the circumference of the wheel bends in a little bit. While these four exterior stations are not strictly in the direction of the four cardinal points, yet it may well be that they represent the

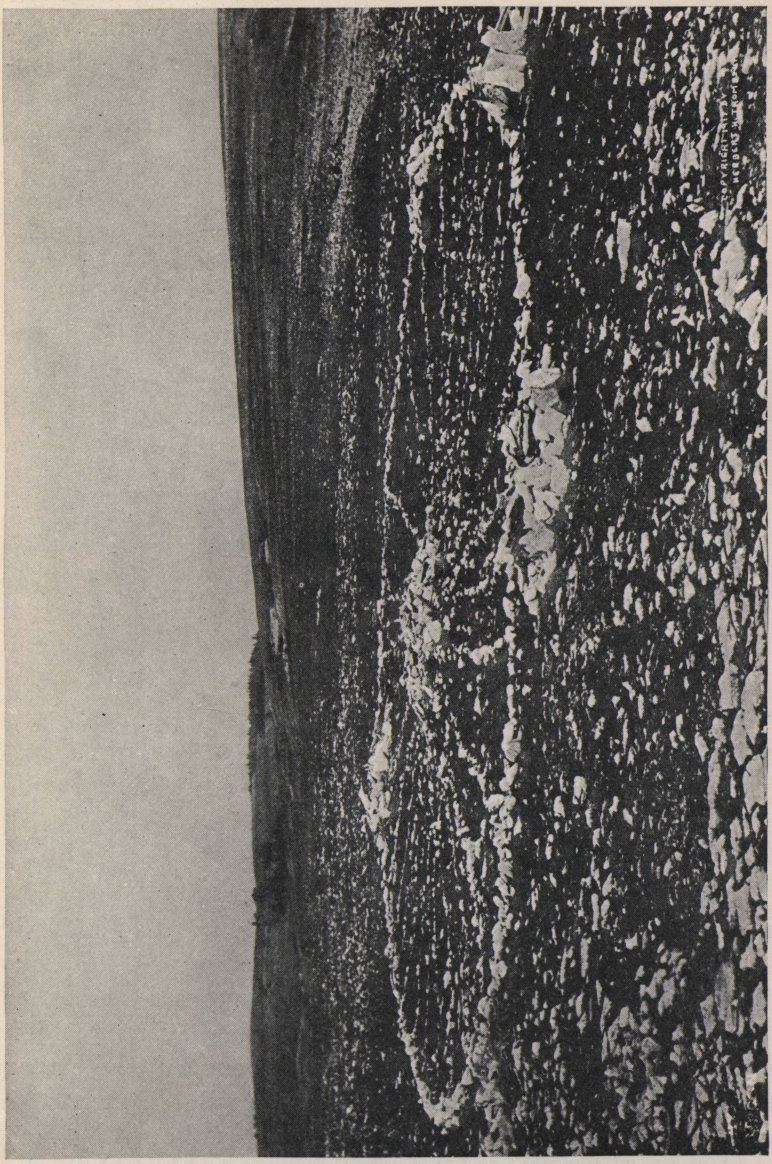

FIG. 21.—Medicine Wheel looking north. Copyright photograph by Herbert H. Thompson.

four cardinal points—the one to the south of the gap in the outer circle of stones representing the South, the next one, the West, the next, the North, and the fourth, near and north of the en-

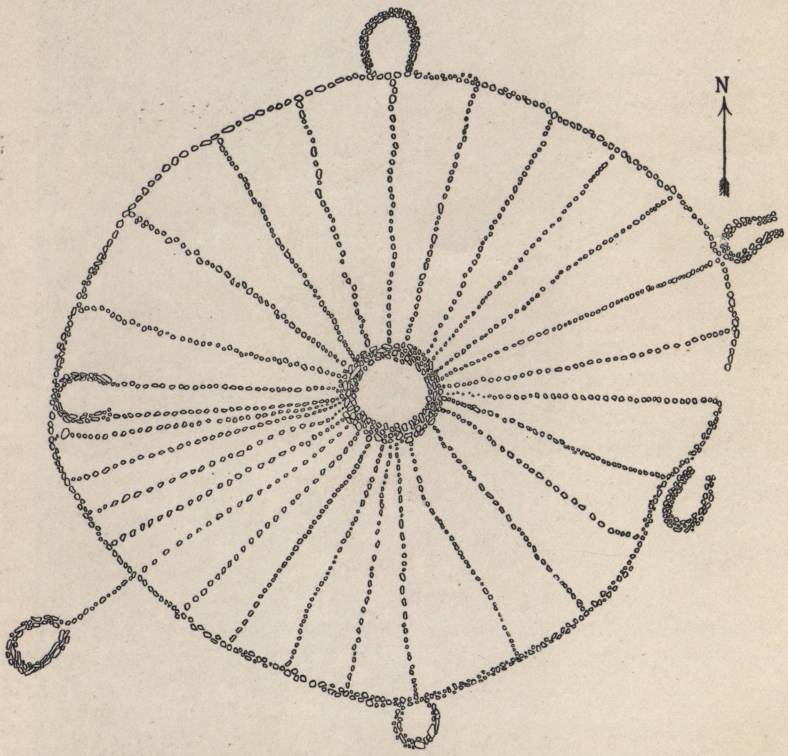

FIG. 22.—Plan of Medicine Wheel. Drawn by Thos. M. Galey.

trance, representing the East. Within the circle and adjoining it on the northwest side is a stone-walled structure nine feet deep and five feet wide, inside measurement, opening toward the center of the outer circle, which occupies in that circle the same position relative to the outer circle and to the central circle that the altar in the Cheyenne Medicine Lodge holds to the wall and the center pole. Two of the spokes run from the ends of the walls which form the sides of this "altar" to the central circle. This is the only building within the rim of the wheel, except the central circle or wall, and the rows of stones referred to as spokes.

FIG. 23.—Central circle of Medicine Wheel. Photo by Thos. M. Galey.

FIG. 24.—Enclosure west of Medicine Wheel, shown at left. Photo by Thos. M. Galey.

To the west of the wheel, and a little south of the oval which is connected with it by a line of stones, are two small circles of stones which are close to one another and which appear to have a relation to the main wheel. Scattered about at other points near the main wheel are six more or less irregular, and incomplete, circles of stones, roughly four or six feet in inside diameter, all opening toward the center of the wheel, and besides these other groups of stones, some of them irregular small circles, others consisting of two slabs of stone standing on their narrower ends, and in some cases with a third flat stone on top of the two. These last groups may have had a meaning or are perhaps merely the work of idle hands. The six irregular circles of stones outside the border of the wheel, and too distant from it to appear on the illustration of the plan, have been located and their direction and distance from the center measured by Mr. H. H. Thompson of Wyola, Montana, as shown by the following table:

One	to southeast	107	feet	from center
"	" west of south	95	"	" "
"	" south of west	277	"	" "
"	" northwest	114	"	" "
"	" east of north	110	"	" "
"	" south	71	"	" "

The last is very small, and perhaps does not belong in the series.

The Medicine Mountain no doubt takes its name from the mystery of the wheel. It is in the northwestern corner of the Big Horn National Forest, in latitude 45° 49′ 00.43″, longitude 107° 54′ 7.67″, and its elevation 9956 feet. However, as already stated, the building, or wheel, is not on the Medicine Mountain proper but on its northerly flat-topped shoulder which is much lower than the summit of the main Medicine Mountain. It is at some distance from water or from wood, and I saw no evidences of people having camped or remained near it for many years.

That in ancient times it was a place of resort for great numbers of people is clearly indicated by a very old and worn travois trail which, visible at a distance of two or three miles, looks like a broad white wagon road running from the lower foothills up over the side of the Medicine Mountain, passing along over its whole length, and descending on the other side to a narrow saddle which

it crosses and then climbs again to the flat where the Medicine Wheel is built (Figs. 25 and 26). On this travois trail there are no signs of recent use; yet it is apparent that, in times past, multitudes of people must have passed over it.

FIG. 25.—Travois trail ascending Medicine Mountain. Photo by Thos. M. Galey.

The antiquity of the wheel can not be doubted, yet it appears also that sacrifices have been made there in comparatively modern times. Some years ago Mr. H. H. Thompson found, under one of the stones in the spokes, two beads and two pieces of wampum. The beads are of European manufacture and have been pronounced Venetian beads of the fifteenth century. Mr. Sims, at the time of his visit, apparently found, resting on projecting slabs of the eastern side of the central circle—the so-called hub of the wheel—a bleached buffalo skull which had been placed there in comparatively modern times.

No living Indians that I know of profess to have seen the wheel, though many have heard of it. Up to within a few years, a Crow Indian, Split Ear, had visited it more than once. He is

no longer living. Among the Crows and other local Indians, however, various stories are said to be told about certain mythical people, usually "little people," who live under the ground and pass between their home and the upper air through a deep pit, or cave, formed by a great crack in the limestone to the west of the Medicine Wheel. These tales are altogether vague.

FIG. 26.—Travois trail, looking northerly toward Medicine Wheel. Photo by Thos. M. Galey.

Mr. Sims found no one in the Crow tribe who had visited the Medicine Wheel, but notes that the Crows declared that it had been made by a people that had no iron; in other words, that it is very old. There are other vague stories as to its builders. A little book entitled *The Sheep Eaters*,[2] which reads like fiction, states that the Medicine Wheel was built by the Sheep Eaters, and that the twenty-eight so-called spokes represent the twenty-eight tribes of the Sheep Eaters.

[2] W. A. Allen, D. D. S., New York, 1913.

The Sheep Eaters were a little group of the Shoshoni, estimated in 1863 to number about one thousand, but now extinct as a group and absorbed by the Bannocks. According to Granville Stuart,[3] they were called Sheep Eaters by the other bands of Snakes, because they subsisted chiefly on the flesh of the mountain sheep. Mr. H. H. Thompson tells me that Sheep Eater Indians have told him that the wheel was built by their people.

Among the older Cheyennes the existence of the Medicine Wheel is well known. Some of them tell of one or more similar constructions, or of pictures on cliffs perhaps made in imitation of it.

I have discussed the Medicine Wheel with old Cheyennes, and particularly with Elk River, who probably was born about 1810–12. He was a man of good intelligence, of excellent memory, and of high character. He was extremely well informed as to all tribal customs and traditions. His mother as a young girl had lived in one of the permanent earth villages formerly occupied by the Cheyennes on the Missouri River.

Years ago, when I showed to Elk River Mr. Sims's figure of the Medicine Wheel, he said at once that it was the plan of an old time Cheyenne Medicine Lodge. The outer circle of stones he said represented the wall of the Medicine Lodge; the lines leading toward the center, the rafters—or, as he called them, the lodge poles—of the Medicine Lodge; and the small circle in the center of the large one, from which the so-called spokes radiate, represented the center pole of the Medicine Lodge. He added that the building to the northwest of the entrance, and within the circle and touching it, was the place from which the thunder came; and by this I understood him to mean what I call the altar—the place in the Cheyenne Medicine Lodge which is especially sacred, and in which is the buffalo skull.

Mr. Sims in his notice of the Medicine Wheel says that the Crow tribe could tell him nothing about the construction. He happened, however, to meet two Sioux Indians who were visiting the Crows and inquired about it of them. He says: "After

[3] Montana As It Is, Granville Stuart, New York, 1865.

inspecting the diagram of it, which I had hastily drawn in order to make clearer the question asked them through an able interpreter, each of the Sioux drew a diametrical line through the wheel; and, pointing to one half, said 'Arapaho,' and then pointing to the other half, said 'Cheyenne.' Neither of these men acknowledged to having seen the wheel, but both had heard of it."

This testimony is interesting confirmation of the statement made by Elk River. The close relations of the Cheyennes and Arapahos are well known. According to the traditions related by the oldest people, the Cheyennes met the Arapahos on the west side of the Black Hills, three generations after they had first begun to live in the Black Hills country. Ever since that time, the Cheyennes and Arapahos have been close friends and allies, often living and camping close to each other for long periods, and constantly intermarrying.

The oldest Cheyennes have declared with great positiveness that the Arapahos were first seen—not having before been known—during the fourth generation after the Cheyennes came to the Black Hills. The Chief of the Arapahos at that time was named Curly (Bip-py), and the Head Chief of the Cheyennes was Goes In (Iš-tsĕ-oh). As close friends in peace and as allies in war, the Cheyennes and Arapahos were constantly meeting each other and often united in holding the ceremony of the Medicine Lodge. This is the testimony given by people who knew both tribes fifty or sixty years ago.

The position of the stones, the outside circle, the inner circle, and the radiating spokes and the inside construction which touches the wall on the northwest of the circle, suggest at once, to anyone who has ever attended and observed that ceremony, a ground plan of the Cheyenne Medicine Lodge. As Elk River said, the outside circle of the stones seems to represent the walls of the Medicine Lodge, the inner circle, the center pole, and the so-called spokes of the wheel, the rafters of the roof, which run from the fork in the center pole to the supporting cross-pieces of the wooden framework which forms the wall of the Medicine Lodge. The position of the altar confirms the other points. If we imagine the Medicine Wheel to be the ground plan of the

Cheyenne Medicine Lodge, the oval construction to the west and connected with the large circle by a line of stones occupies approximately the place of the "lonely" lodge where the instruction is given to the Medicine Lodge makers and from which the Cheyenne Medicine Lodge women carry the buffalo skull down to the Medicine Lodge which is in process of being built.

In view of the statement made about this Medicine Wheel by Elk River, and the fact that it is a plan laid out on a flat surface which closely follows the ground plan of the Cheyenne Medicine Lodge, an extract from the story of Sweet Medicine, the Cheyenne Culture Hero, is not without interest.

It will be remembered that after various adventures including many attempts by the people of the tribe to kill him, Sweet Medicine at length returned to the neighborhood of the camp and showed himself in plain sight to all the people on six or seven occasions. On these occasions he was dressed once in the costume of a Contrary and on subsequent appearances in the costume of five of the bands of soldiers—namely, the Dog Soldiers, Fox Soldiers, Elk Horn Scrapers, Bull Soldiers, and Chief Soldiers. In other words, in these visits he foreshadowed the associations which he was to establish later. On each of these appearances, the story says, Sweet Medicine came from the East and went toward the opening in the circle; but, when near the opening, he turned to his left hand and went south to the southeastern part of the camp where he marked a circle. Then he passed on around to the southwest corner of the camp and marked another circle; then to its northwest border where he made another circle; then to the north side and made another circle; and then to the northeast side where he made the last of these circles.

On each of these appearances, he came from the same direction, took the same course around the camp, making the same turns and indicating the same circles; in other words, he marked five circles without the camp, and the five small stone circles or enclosures found without and not far from the border of the Medicine Wheel may possibly represent these circles which Sweet Medicine inscribed. The apparent coincidence of the positions of some of the circles with the story seems worth noting.

Mr. Sims's sketch of the wheel seems to have been drawn more or less from memory, as may be seen by comparing it with the plan here printed, which was kindly drawn by Mr. Thomas M. Galey. Another similar plan was made by H. H. Thompson. Mr. Sims's sketch does not indicate the opening toward the east which I believe was the entrance to the structure, nor does it show the place for the altar within the circle on the northwest side of the wheel. He gives the spokes as twenty-seven, whereas in fact they number twenty-eight—the precise number of the rafters that must be used in the Cheyenne Medicine Lodge.

As already suggested, there are in some other localities in the West monuments which have the same general appearance as this. On the Big Horn River just below old Fort C. F. Smith on the Big Horn Canyon, there is what looks like an incomplete monument of this kind. Then in northern Wyoming, near the trail used by the Cheyennes of the Tongue River Reservation in Montana when they visit the Shoshoni near Fort Washaki, the Cheyennes say there is still another monument of this kind. All these, it would seem, are worth looking into.

NEW YORK CITY.

HAWAIIAN RIDDLING

By MARTHA W. BECKWITH

MUCH in the psychology of the Polynesian has been shown to resemble closely that of the prehistoric civilizations which grouped about the Mediterranean. The taste for riddling is a minor but no less interesting example of this parallelism in mental habit and training, and the part played by the riddling contest in Hawaiian story is directly comparable with that which it plays in old European literary sources like the Scandinavian Edda or the Greek tale of Oedipus and the riddle of the Sphinx.[1] In some Hawaiian stories of the ancient past, the contest of wit is represented as one of the accomplishments of chiefs, taking its place with games of skill like arrow-throwing or checkers, with tests of strength like boxing or wrestling, and with the arts of war such as sling-stone and spear-throwing as a means of rivalry. It is played as a betting contest, upon the results of which contestants even stake their lives. There are definite rules of the game, a definite training preliminary to it, and the decisions, even in the case of an unpopular rival, seem to be judged openly and with impartial fairness. Such a wit-contest is called *hoopaapaa*, a word somewhat grandly translated by Andrews, Thrum, and others, as the "art of disputation." In its narrower sense, the expert in *hoopaapaa* depends upon the art of riddling. It is the object of this paper to describe this practice of riddling as it is

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[1] For the Scandinavian riddling practice see Lay of Vafthrudnir (Vigfusson & Powell; Corpus Poeticum Boreale, I, 61), Lay of the Dwarf Alvis (I, 81), King Heidrick's Riddles (I, 86), perhaps also Lay of Grimnir (I, 69) and Loki's Altercation (I, 100). Compare also the riddling episode in the story of the Punjaub hero, Rasalu (Swynnerton, Romantic Tales from The Punjaub, 1903, pp. 250-254).

For the riddle of the Sphinx see Apollodorus, III, 8 (Loeb, I, 347).

An interesting discussion of European riddle forms is to be found in Mr. Rudolph Schevil's dissertation, "Some forms of the riddle question and the exercise of the wits, in popular fiction and formal literature," University of California Publications in Modern Philology, II (1911), 183–237.

represented in the modern folk-lore of Hawaii and in old Hawaiian tradition.

Although no Hawaiian riddles have, to my knowledge, ever been published, a very great number of both proverbs and riddles are current even today among the folk and differ in no respect from the metaphorical riddling or the word-play known all over the eastern continent, but so far unreported from American Indian tribes. The few specimens here set down were collected for me in Honolulu from a Hawaiian informant, Mrs. Mary Pukui, who belongs to an old Puna family, and translated by Miss Laura Green, whose thorough knowledge of the vernacular makes her an authority upon genuine Hawaiian matters.

1. *Ula o luna, ula o lalo, kaui mai ka oli.*
   Red above, red below, with a cheerful call.
   ANS. Rooster.
2. *Ekolu pa a loaa ka wai.*
   Three walls and you reach water.
   ANS. Cocoanut.
3. *Kuu punawai, kau i ka lewa.*
   My spring suspended in air.
   ANS. Cocoanut.
4. *Kuu hale, hookahi ō-ā, elua puka.*
   My house has one beam and two doors.
   ANS. Nose.
5. *Kuu ana ula, ku lalani na koa kapa keokeo.*
   In my red cave stand in rows white-clad soldiers.
   ANS. Teeth.
6. *Ewalu ō-ā, hookahi pou, paa kuu hale.*
   Eight beams, one post, my house is complete.
   ANS. Umbrella.
7. *Kuu kanaka au-wae lewa.*
   My man of the swaying chin.
   ANS. Taro-leaf.
8. *Kuu wahi ia,*[2] *ilalo ka poo, iluna ka hiu.*
   Some fish of mine, head downward, tail upward.
   ANS. Onion.
9. *Ke kanaka e holoholo ana iloko o ke uki.*
   A man who runs in the tall grass.
   ANS. Louse.
10. *Puoa ka lau o ka niu, mohola ka lau o ka naenae.*
    Pyramidal like cocoanut leaves, then unfolding like the leaves of the *naenae* (a kind of shrub).
    ANS. Squid.

[2] Or, *He i-a ka'u,* I have a fish.

11. *Luu a aea, luu a aea, a hiki i ka waikaloa.*
Dive and rise, dive and rise, and then draw out.
ANS. To sew.

12. *Elua iliili, puni ka honua.*
Two pebbles viewing the whole earth.
ANS. Eyes.

13. *Kuu lahui, umiumi loloa.*
My nation, a long-bearded race.
ANS. Goats.

14. *Umeke pakaká, poe pakaká, lihilihi ulaula, koko helelei wale.*
Shallow calabash, shallow cover, red fringe, broken calabash-net.
ANS. Earth, sky, rainbow, rain.

15. *Hele ka makua me ka kalakala, noho ke keiki me ka onaona.*[3]
The parent goes with his roughness, the child is left with his fragrance.
ANS. A garland of *hala* fruit.

16. *Kuu imu kalua loa.*
My oven that hides (its contents) forever.
ANS. The grave.

17. *He umeke no, he poi, he umeke no, he poi.*
A calabash and a cover, a calabash and a cover.
ANS. The jointed bamboo.

18. *Kuu ipu opaha, hau i ka pali.*
My misshapen melon hanging on a precipice.
ANS. Ear.

19. *Hookahi opihi koele, lau a lau na alinalina.*
One big dark *opihi* (a shell-fish) and thousands of yellow ones.
ANS. Moon and stars.

20. *Kuu waapa holo i na mokuaaina a pau.*
My boat which runs to all the islands.
ANS. Flat-iron.

21. *Kuu manu hookahi no iwi kaumaha.*
My bird with a single heavy bone.
ANS. *Kolea* tree, because *kolea* also means a bird, the plover.

22. *Ahiahi, pu-iliili; kakahiaka, houhou; auakea, kau i ka lewa.*
In the evening, gathered; in the morning, pierced; in the forenoon, hung in the air.[4]
ANS. An *ilima lei* (a wreath of a certain kind of flower).

23. *Ai no, muku ana.*
Eating and grumbling.[5]
ANS. A water-gourd.

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[3] The hard upper part of the pandanus fruit (the parent) is cut off before stringing the remainder (which is softer and fragrant) into a garland.

[4] The Hawaiians pluck the flowers the night before, string them in the early morning, and hang them up for sale or wear them about the neck.

[5] As one drinks, the water gurgles.

24. *Kuu kanaka, ai ma ka hua, hoolepo i ke alo.*
My man, eating behind, voiding in front.[6]
ANS. An adz.

25. *Kuu imu, elua no pohaku moa.*
My oven has two stones for baking.
ANS. Two stones used for cracking pandanus nuts.

26. *Kuu waa, he umi ihu.*[7]
My double canoe has ten noses.
ANS. Feet, with ten toes.

27. *Kuu mau koi, nana e kalai na waa liilii ha waa kia loa.*
My hatchets carve out little canoes and long-masted canoes.[8]
ANS. Bare feet, large and small, going over a trail.

28. *Kuu wahi ia ili ole.*
My skinless fish.
ANS. Taro tops, often used, cooked as greens, in place of fish.

29. *He ua ka upena, he makani ke kapehu.*
The rain spreads the net, the wind drives it in.[9]
ANS. Candle-nut; it ripens after the rainy season and falls when the wind blows.

30. *Na ka ia make e hapai ka ia ola.*
The dead fish raises the live one.
ANS. The cowrie-shell used to catch squid.

31. *Pupu hilo i ka poo o ka o-o, lei haili oia manu; kuu manu la ewalu malama, i ka iwa la, lele.*
Gathered up like the tuft of feathers on the head of the o-o bird, proud adornment of that bird (?); my bird rests for eight months, on the ninth it flies.[10]
ANS. Cultivating a garden: clearing the ground, the owner's pride in his garden, the period of ripening, the eating of the fruit.

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[6] The Hawaiian plane bites into the wood, and leaves sawdust and shavings. Miss Green translates "littering in front," but I think this misses the point.

[7] The fore-part of the canoe is called the "nose" (*ihu*).

[8] The Hawaiians have observed that a bare-footed person forms a print in the shape of a hatchet.

[9] Miss Green translates "cradles" and "scatters." According to Andrews's dictionary, the words used refer to net fishing, and this gives the proper figure.

[10] Miss Green says, "The first part means pulling of weeds, gathering sticks and planting; the second is the owner's pride in his garden; the third part signifies the eight months taken for ripening, culminating by eating in the ninth." The first part of the translation seems to me obscure.

32. *Hala ka laau, make; pa ka laau, ola.*
Missing (the wood), it dies; piercing (the wood), it lives.[11]
ANS. A torch of candle nuts.

33. *Kuu laau, huhi ke aa, ulu; kolo ke aa, make.*
My tree-trunk; when you pull its root, it grows; when you let it run, it dies.
ANS. An anchor.

34. *Kuu wahine, eha piko.*
My wife with four navels.[12]
ANS. A braided mat.

35. *Kuu ia, ai no, oni ana, ai no, oni ana.*
My fish, a taste and a wiggle, a taste and a wiggle.[13]
ANS. Baked candle-nut, used as a relish.

36. *Kuu ia, ai maloko kona unahi.*
My fish with its scales inside.
ANS. Red peppers, used as a relish.

37. *Kuu ia, nona ka honua.*
My fish possesses the earth.
ANS. *Honu*, turtle.

38. *Kuu ia, pa i ka lani!*[14]
My fish, it touches heaven.
ANS. *Palani* (a flat dark-brown fish emitting a disagreeable odor).

39. *Kuu ia, nona ka la.*[15]
My fish, possessor of the sun.
ANS. *Kohola* (whale).

40. *Kuu aho hilo loa.*[16]
My cord of long *Hilo*-grass.
ANS. Hilo district.

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[11] Miss Green writes, "You may remember that the nuts are strung on thin, sharp strips of bamboo; unless it is constantly watched and the consuming nut *koe*-d or snuffed (?), the wood will burn out and the torch be extinguished, but if it is carefully manipulated, it catches the next nut and thus keeps burning."

[12] The mat-maker begins to braid at one corner. When the mat is completed one can not tell at which corner it was begun. Miss Green translates "with four corners."

[13] Miss Green says that the word *ia* (flesh, commonly fish) in distinction from *ai* (vegetable food, commonly pounded *taro*-root) may also mean "relish." With this meaning it may include boiled greens, *luau;* or red peppers, *ni-oi;* or baked candle-nuts, *inamona;* or anything eaten with *poi.* If the question is asked, "*Heaha ko oukou ia?*" What is your meat? the answer may be any one of these, or even "*He paakai,*" salt. The riddle describes the motion of the hand in taking a bit of the relish with the *poi.*

[14] Miss Green suggests the rendering, "My fish! The stench reaches heaven!"

[15] *Koho* means "to choose" or "possess"; *la* is the "sun."

[16] This and the next six riddles are puns upon the names of the districts on the island of Hawaii.

41. *Kuu mau kupuna.*
My grandparents.
ANS. Puna district.

42. *Kuu lua u-u.*
My good red fish.
ANS. Ka-u district.

43. *Ka makani Kona.*
The south wind.
ANS. Kona district.

44. *Kuu lei hala.*
My pandanus wreath.
ANS. Kohala district.

45. *Kuu mau makua.*
My parents.
ANS. Hamakua district.

46. *Kuu hulu, kuu nae.*
My feather, my fish-net.
ANS. The fishes *pa-hulu* and *na-nae.*

47. *Palu aku au, hole mai oe.*
I lick and you scratch.
ANS. The fishes *upapalu* and *aholehole.*

48. *Piopio, kahakaha, lei a ka manu.*
Peeping(?), scratching, crown of the bird.
ANS. The place-names Wai-pio, Ke-kaha, Wai-manu.

49. *Kuu uahi ua, hele pu me ke kanaka.*[17]
My rain, accompanying man.
ANS. *Ua-ua-kaha,* stiff-necked or haughty.

50. *Luku ia ke alii, pio a ka manu.*
Blood of the chief, arch(?) of the bird.
ANS. The place-names Wai-luku, Hono-lii, Wai-pio, Wai-manu.

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[17] This and the next two plays on words are unsatisfactory in translation. Here the play is on the word *ua.* Of the next Miss Green says, "Only half of the answer is given; the other half is to be guessed." I take it that this means a riddling match. The first says, "*Luku ia ke alii,*" and names two places near Hilo-Wailuku and Honolii. The man challenged answers with "*Pio a ka manu,*" and names Waipio and Wai-manu, also near Hilo. Of the third Miss Green writes, "Quite untranslatable into English although I can see it in Hawaiian, being a double play on words. *Puna* is here mortar, or stone-coral coming from the sea (*kai*). The best I can do with it is to put it thus: When the house (*hale*) belongs to the mortar, it abides in the sea; when the house belongs to the sea, it abides in the mortar." Certainly this makes little sense in English. The reference is probably to the Hawaiian custom of considering sisters-in-law as wives and brothers-in-law as husbands in common.

51. *No ka puna ke hale, noho ia e ke kai; no ke kai ka hale, noho ia i ka puna.* ANS. *Puna-lua* (plurality of husbands or wives) and *kai-koeke* (brothers- or sisters-in-law).

Fornander's collection of Hawaiian folk-tales recently published with text and translation by the Bishop Museum in Honolulu,[18] is our chief source for knowledge of the treatment of the riddling contest in Hawaiian story. Turning to this collection, we find six tales in which such a contest is described in some detail. In two of them, the term *hoopaapaa* is expressly used to name the art. These six are:

1.	*Lonoikamakahiki.*	Vol. IV, 256–323.
2.	*Pikoiakaala.*	Vol. IV, 450–463.
3.	*Kipakailiuli.*	Vol. IV, 510–517; Vol. V, 398–405.
4.	*Kaipalaoa.*	Vol. IV, 574–595.
5.	*Kuapakaa.*	Vol. V, 78–135.
6.	*Kapunohu.*	Vol. V, 418–421.

Of these, the story called *Kaipalaoa*, or "The *Hoopaapaa* Youngster," is by far the fullest and most important. It tells of a lad whose father's bones, together with those of many other contestants, lie bleaching before the enclosure of a famous chief of Kauai noted for his success in riddling. The lad practises the art of *hoopaapaa* and in a long riddling debate outdoes all the wits of Kauai and avenges his father's death.

It will, I think, be possible to show that this story is the source of a similar episode in the legend of *Kipakailiuli* in which the hero visits Kauai and outwits a champion boxer, wrestler, and riddler, in the arts by which the Kauai chief has terrorized the island. The situations are similar. In both cases a champion from the district of Puna, in Hawaii, worsts a cruel chief of Kauai who has long terrorized the island. But in the episodic story, the elaborate word-contest is replaced by a couple of trivial riddles such as might easily be substituted by one unfamiliar

[18] Fornander: Collection of Hawaiian Antiquities and Folk-lore, Memoirs of the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum of Polynesian Ethnology and Natural History, vols. IV-VI, Honolulu, 1916–1919.

with the story in full, but wishing to use the incident to complete the record of the hero's adventures.[19]

The other four riddling episodes seem to be independent. In the story of *Lono*, this famous chief of Hawaii visits the powerful chief of Oahu on purpose to engage in a betting contest, called *hoopaapaa*, and in every encounter wins over his powerful antagonist. In *Pikoiakaala*, the demi-god of the Rat family bets against the champion rat-shooter of the royal family of Oahu, and wins through his skill in punning. In *Kuapakaa*, the son of a banished counsellor of the great chief of Hawaii wins in various betting contests with his father's detractors, until they are finally all put to death and his father reinstated in favor. An independent episode in the life of *Kapunohu* (whose legend is told in full in Vol. V, 214–225) relates how this hero is worsted at betting by the tricks of two young men whom he has formerly defeated.

Examining these stories in detail, we find that it is only in its narrower sense that the *hoopaapaa* contest is confined to matching riddles. Any test of superiority, it would seem from the contest, may be employed to place a rival at a disadvantage, especially a guest who comes as a stranger and sets up pretensions to equal rank with the established ruler of the district or island. In those stories in which the *hoopaapaa* contest is directly alluded to, the successful contestant is in this position of guest; and it seems to be legitimate by the rules of the game to take him at whatever disadvantage this isolation from his supporters involves. Unless he

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[19] The riddles, upon the answer to which the chief stakes his own life, are as follows:

Kai a puni, kai a lalo, koe koena.
Plaited all around, plaited to the bottom, leaving an opening.
O kanaka i ku,
O kanaka i moe,
O kanaka i pelupelu ia.
The men that stand,
The men that lie down,
The men that are folded.

The answer is in both cases "a house." In the first riddle, "the house is plaited all around from top to bottom (with thatch) leaving an opening, the door"; in the second, "the sticks (of the house) are made to stand, the battens are laid down, and the grass and cords are folded."

is in a position to defend himself, he must never challenge whatever insult his host sees fit to put upon him. If he does challenge it, stakes are set and he must prove his claim to skill equal to that of his host by whatever tests of superiority he thinks he can meet. He is, however, at liberty to decline any particular test in which he knows himself to be unskilled. It is only the rash boaster who will attempt more than he can perform; the true hero knows his own strength. If in the excitement of the game he undertakes something beyond it, he must employ his wits to help him out. Moreover, he does not necessarily depend upon his own strength or skill; he is at liberty to call upon a follower to speak or act for him. For this reason, high chiefs gathered about themselves those skilled in any competitive art, and men who wished to attain distinction sought notice at their courts by challenging the seasoned wits and seeking to displace them in their lord's estimation.

In a number of stories, definite allusion is made to training in the art of the *hoopaapaa*. In the story of Lono-who-came-from-Kahaki, the boy, visiting his father's treasure-house, discards as worthless the implements of sport and the wooden war-club "fit only to poke hot stones out of an oven"; but commends the war-spears, sling, and the images of the gods. He says, "That makes three things in your keeping that are of value; I will take care of these things!" and he becomes expert with spear and sling, as also in wrestling. On the circuit of the island, he sees an old man with gray hair reaching below the waist whom he at first takes for a god, but, learning he is merely a chief's counselor, "What is the old man good for?" he demands. The attendants reply: "The counselor is a very great man in the king's court. He must be a man skilful in language, and whatever advice he gives to the king, the king will give heed to. He can predict the coming of prosperity to the land and to the people. He can tell whether a man, commoner or chief, will become rich or poor." Consulting the old man as to his own future, Lono is advised to take up the art of *hoopaapaa*. He proves an apt pupil and on his return home entangles all his playmates in argument, to his own great practical advantage. Says the story, "This made the third

thing that Lono-from-the-land-of-Kahiki was proficient in up to his death, and he caused no end of trouble for certain chiefs thereby."

Other Hawaiian tales speak more in detail of the requirements of the training for the *hoopaapaa*. Kaipalaoa, called "the *hoopaapaa* youngster," goes for instruction to an aunt who lives in Kohala. "She taught him all she knew relating to the profession; the things above and the things below, in the uplands and in the lowlands; the things of day and the things of night; of death and life; of good and evil. She taught him all that she knew, whereupon he was classed as an expert." Kuapakaa, son of a banished chief's counsellor, gets his training from his father. The story runs: "After Kuapakaa had grown up to the age when he could talk and think, Pakaa said to him: 'I want to teach you the songs relating to your master and also the general knowledge of all things; for it is possible that he will miss me and will come in search of me; if he does, I want you to be ready to meet him.' The course of instruction did not take many days for Kuapakaa was a bright boy and mastered everything in a way to give him a thorough knowledge of the different branches of knowledge." It would appear, then, from these descriptions that education for the wit-contest demanded a thorough objective knowledge of the physical world, with the names, attributes, and history attached to individual objects and the classes to which they belonged, together with the genealogies of chiefs and the names of places and their local peculiarities throughout the group.

The importance of the thorough mastery of his art to the expert in *hoopaapaa* is shown by the high stakes for which the game is played, which proceed to such extravagant lengths that not only a whole landed possession but even life itself is made to depend upon the outcome. The loser is regularly "cooked in the oven,"[20] probably, since cannibalism was not practised in Hawaii,

[20] The Hawaiian oven or *imu* is prepared by digging a hole in the earth, filling it with stones and kindling a wood fire over it to heat the stones. When all are well heated, a layer of stones is left on the bottom and the rest thrown to the sides. When the oven is filled, these are used to cover the top, and earth is then thrown over the whole.

in order the more easily to remove the flesh from the bones, which are then set up in token of victory. In *Kuapakaa*, the rivals who are conspiring for the hero's death say, "There is always one wager, our bones. If we beat you, you forfeit your life to us, and if you beat us, why, we forfeit ours."[21] In the story of Lono, although the two chiefs have staked only their landed estates, Lono says to the counsellor whose timely arrival has won him the bet, "If you had not come today, I should have been cooked in the oven already prepared for me."[22] When "the *hoopaapaa* youngster" has beaten the Kauai chief's disputants, "The men were then all killed and cooked in the oven and their bones stripped of flesh."[23]

The episodic account of the last contest is treated more elaborately in the story of *Kipakailiuli*. The king's crier proclaims the contest as follows: "All men are commanded to the chief's house to guess the chief's riddle. If solved, saved from the oven; if not solved, death in the oven. Not a man, woman or child, old or young, shall remain at home except the man who winks not when you stab at his eye with your finger. Whoever remains at home, his house shall be burned to the ground and the chief's wrath shall follow him and his family from parents to children, his kindred even to the most remote, and his friends. So shall punishment be measured out to anyone who remains at home this day!" When the champion presents himself, the chief says, "I have two riddles. If the right answers are given to them, I shall bake in the oven; if not, you will bake. These are the conditions." But the chief's crier has already advised the stranger, as follows: " 'Come and stand before the people and when you see that the oven is hot enough, for I shall attend to the heat, give the answer to the first half. And when you see me lay the stones flat and throw some out to the edge, give the answer to the

[21] Fornander, v, 128.
[22] Fornander, iv, 314.
[23] Fornander, iv, 594.

second half. Then take hold of Kaikipaananea and throw him into the oven.' "[24]

In both cases in which the *hoopaapaa* contest is named, the contestant carries a calabash containing articles of which he is to make use in the *hoopaapaa* contest—articles, that is, by which he can make good an improbable boast or meet any attempt of his host to put him at a disadvantage. In neither case are these objects of a supernatural character. In the story of Kuapakaa, however, it is the possession of the "wind-calabash" containing his grandmother's bones which gives the hero advantage over his rivals. "It was a real calabash, entirely covered over with wicker-work, plaited like a basket, and it was named in honor of Pakaa's mother. . . . This calabash was given the name of Laamaomao because during her life-time the winds obeyed her every call and command."[25]

The legendary woman from underseas, Hinaaimalama, carries the moon in her calabash.[26] The Rat-man, wishing to go concealed to Hawaii, bids a friend " . . . get some *ie* vines and make a basket in the shape of a calabash for me to hide in . . . and you can say that the basket is for the safe-keeping of your god."[27]

On the whole, however, the challenger is represented as depending upon his wits rather than upon miracle in stocking his calabash. When Kaipalaoa, "the *hoopaapaa* youngster," arrives off Kauai, he passes the chief's canoes loaded with fish. Offered a canoe-load, he refuses all but two, which he selects with care; and coming to the bone fence proceeds to set them up in place of the chief's taboo signals, which he tears down as a sign of defiance. The point of the substitution lies in the fact that the fishes'

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[24] Cf. the account given by Mr. Weeks of a witch-trial on the Lower Congo. The man who is tried as a sorcerer, if he is obnoxious to his judges, is made to name rapidly the trees from which six different twigs are taken, or the names of ants running on the ground in front of him or of the birds sailing past. If he fails, he is condemned as a wizard and will be killed. John H. Weeks, "Customs of the Lower Congo People," Folk-lore, XIX (1908), 417–418.

[25] Vol. V, 72.

[26] Vol. V, 267. "It was Hinaaimalama who turned the moon into vegetable food (*ai*) and the stars into fish (*ia*)."

[27] Vol. IV, 460.

names—"Twisted signal" and "Strong taboo"—are a challenge to competitive rank. There is some preliminary sparring. "The chief invites you to come up here, young bragger," calls the messenger. "The chief invites you to come down here, middle-aged bragger," retorts the boy. On his arrival at the door, the wits declare that he may stay outside. "Very good! then you must stay inside, never go out, rot there!" Again defeated, they invite him to enter, but take up all the floor-covering and throw down water. He good-humoredly confides to his calabash, "Say, you must sit down on the part of the floor that has a covering." Challenged to make his words good, he explains that the lower batton of the house is called the "bottom covering." The wits then proceed to make their section of the floor suitable for men of rank. They spread down fine grass, then mats from Niihau, and finally their handsomest bark-cloth. The calabash now comes into requisition. Puna, in the island of Hawaii, is noted for its fragrant plants. The stranger spreads out sweet grass, a mat woven of richly-perfumed pandanus blossoms, a scented bark-cloth dyed on both sides. When the chief's followers prepare a feast of roast pig and awa drink, he takes out a little wooden pig (probably of a kind used by priests in sacrifice), a bundle of sticks, a number of pebbles, and dramatizes a feast in miniature. When they place singers behind them to accompany their chants, he derides them by setting up a wooden mannikin to make the motions. In this way he successfully prevents his antagonists from putting him to shame at the outset of the debate.

At Lono's arrival at the court of the chief of Oahu,[28] a number of bets are engaged in between himself and his host, who attempts to catch him at his weakest point. In every case, in spite of the rashness of the venture, Lono outwits his host. The first bet is about a new name-chant which the chief has got from a lady-guest from Kauai. He has bidden each of his retainers to

[28] "The chief desire that urged Lono to make the journey (to Oahu) was that he might show his skill in his favorite profession of *hoopaapaa*. Hence he took with him his calabash known by the name of Kuwalawala. In this calabash, besides his clothes, he carried several of the things he used in the profession of *hoopaapaa*." Fornander, IV, 270.

commit a line as she recites the song and has then connected the lines one by one at his leisure until he has committed the whole. Unfortunately for him, the lady has omitted to mention that Lono, having enjoyed her favor for a night, has himself memorized the same chant in a single night, and is fully prepared to meet the chief's challenge. The next four contests take place on a fishing excursion, an art in which Lono is confessedly weak. Here magic saves the day for Lono. I am inclined to think that the story of the shark lured by Lono into sharkless waters; of his cutting up his old counsellor to provide hook, sinker, bait, and line; and of the fish from Puna with a wreath over its head, about which the first three bets concern themselves, are substituted for misunderstood puns, so at variance are they with the realistic spirit of the other contests. In the last bet, which concerns a racing contest back to port, Lono wins against overwhelming odds by slipping in by another route while his antagonist stops his rowers upon their oars to jeer at his expected defeat.[29] The final bet concerns the calabash which contains the bones of enemy warriors, each done up in its own bundle. Only a single one of Lono's counsellors can name each bundle, and he is supposed to be in Hawaii. His opponent knows this and ventures the bet. By good luck, the counsellor arrives just in time to save his master the stake, and Lono chants a jeering song at the expense of each dead warrior.

In all these examples, the wit-contest consists in making good a brag, or taking a dare, or answering jibe for jibe, or standing up against quizzing—in any of a number of quite useless competitive activities entered into merely for the fun of the thing, such as are common to any society in their moments of relaxation. The value of the stakes set, the prodigious odds against which the hero engages, these are the careless ways of chiefs; and sympathy for the winner is assured by pitting the adventurer against the arrogant chief who is surrounded by the advantages of his own court. But that which mainly supports the *hoopaapaa* contestant is his knowledge of words. Any boast may be made good by a successful pun.

[29] Compare Kuapakaa's defeat of his far superior rivals by placing his own canoe in the current caused by the eddy left behind the other, and thus riding triumphantly to shore unwearied. Fornander, v, 130.

For example, in the story of Pikoiakaala, the Rat-man overcomes the champion rat-shooter of Oahu by wit in words. His antagonist shoots ten rats with a single arrow; he gets ten and a bat. "The bat must not be counted! It is not a rat!" cry the other's adherents. But by quoting an old saying

> The bat in time of calm
> Is your younger brother, O rat!

he claims the victory. Then he brags that he will hit a rat in the midst of a crowd. He shoots a dim-eyed old woman and wins the bet; for "When a baby is born he is called a *child;* when he grows bigger we call him a *youth;* when he stops growing he is a *full-grown man;* when he walks with a cane he is an *old man;* and when his eyes grow dim he is called *blear-eyed rat.* Then isn't she a rat?" Next he offers to shoot "a big rat sitting on the rafters," and hits the top batten. "That is not a rat!" "O yes, it is! It is called 'back of a rat,' as one says in house-building, 'Bind the cord to the back of the rat!' "[30]

Hawaiian hero-tales contain instances of such witty retorts. Certain games cultivate the practice of wrapping a reproach or an insult under a form of words much like the old European lampooning by means of a "ballad." The *hula* songs especially preserve this art.[31] But the formal riddling contest is described in full only in the story of Kaipalaoa.

The contest contains eighteen numbers. A list of their subjects may make the nature of the competition clearer:

1. Things that "turn over," *kuhuli.*
2. Things of value in a canoe, *ka waiwai nui a ka halau.*
3. An "animal with its bones outside and flesh inside."
4. "Cold places where the hands are likely to get cold."
5. A mountain shaped like an animal.
6. A round-shaped relish.
7. A play on the word "hidden," *nalo.*
8. A play on the word "hand," *lima.*

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[30] In the second version of the story, some variations occur, A comparison of the two is valuable as a study in oral transmission.

[31] See Nathanial B. Emerson, "Unwritten Literature of Hawaii, the Sacred Songs of the Hula," Bulletin 38, Bureau of Am. Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, 1909, pp. 69, 70, 98, 106, 211, et cetera. Cf. the legend of Halemano, Fornander, v, 244-258.

9. A "bird with its wings hanging down."
10. A "thing that creeps without roots or stem."
11. Uses of the word "cling," *pili*.
12. A certain wind.
13. A "lifeless thing that carries away the dead."
14. Uses of the *hau* wood.
15. Fruits down below (vegetables).
16. The islands of the group.
17. A play upon the words *ola* and *moku*.
18. The "joints" of the body.

The wits about the chief voice the challenge in formal terms of insult, accompanied by an invocation to the god. They say:

These are all the uses to which you can apply the word "turn" young man. If you can find more you shall live, but if you fail you shall surely die:

We will twist your nose
Till the sun looks crooked as at Kumakena!
We will poke out your eyes with our sticks here
And the god will suck up the water,
Our god of wrangling, Kaneulupo.

The boy takes up the word quickly:

Why can't I, though a lad, find a few more things that can be turned over? If I fail, you may live; but if I succeed, I will kill you all;

I will twist your noses
Till the sun looks crooked as at Kumakena!
I will poke out your eyes
And the god will suck up the water,—
My god, Kanepaiki.

Several different kinds of word-plays are involved in the riddling, but the trick always consists in finding another case like the one or more described in the challenge. Some of the tests are not what we would call "riddles" at all; they are merely lists of things to which the test is to add another. A second sort of test depends upon a mere change in the place-name, either with or without a punning significance. Place-names enter largely into all these tests. Eight out of the eighteen numbers involve their knowledge. The successful combatant must therefore be a well-traveled man, since not only the place itself but its particular character and associations enter into the competition. In the case of actual riddles—the "animal with its bones outside," the "rich round relish," the "bird with drooping wings," the

"bat created long ago by Hina"—in which simple objects are wrapped up in metaphorical images, the point of the contest does not seem to lie in guessing the riddle, the answers to which—the crab, the candle-nut, the dragon-fly, a bat-shaped mountain—are contained in the challenge. It is for the opponent to compose a similar riddle which will parallel the first as exactly as possible and present an equally striking analogy.[32] Sometimes the test is not metaphorical; an object may have a characteristic so unique that it is hard to match it. Of such sort is the riddle of the *kaunooa* vine which

> —creeps there above without roots,
> It has no stem, its only stem is the wood it creeps on,

but the lad sees a charming analogy in the spider-web. The possible changes vary from the slight alteration involved in

> My bird with its wings down, a dragon-fly,
> For at sight of water its wings hang down,

which the lad answers with

> My bird with its wings hanging down, *Kaunihi*,
> For at sight of a blade of grass its wings hang down,

to the figure of the animal-shaped mountain

> Kauwiki, the mountain, the bat,
> Created long ago by Hina,

matched by

> Honuiki (little turtle) with its round head, washed by the sea.

Of the eighteen numbers of the contest, only five take any such liberties as the last with the phrasing, which is usually exactly reproduced with only such slight alteration as is necessary to turn the figure. Such performances require a very ready memory, as well as an active wit. The addition of a metaphor to a literal description, as in the riddle quoted above, or the introduction of a pun, scores for the contestant. Eight out of the eighteen

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[32] Cf. the African riddles gathered by M. Junod among the Ba-Ronga, where a somewhat similar matching process is employed. H. Junod, "Les Ba-ronga," Bulletin de la Société Neuchâteloise de Geographie, x (1898), 252–263.

numbers contain a play on words, and in five cases the pun is introduced in the reply. The most intricate example of this is the enumeration of "things of value" in the canoe-shed and in the calabash. The challenge is to add anything of equal value to the three things named in the canoe-shed—the canoe itself, the out-rigger, and the lashing-beam. By punning upon other uses of the three words, the boy proves that exactly these three things are "things of value in a calabash."

The riddles are for the most part proposed as an unrelated series, but the last three are linked together by a play upon the words employed by the last speaker. The conclusion is left unfinished by Fornander, who says, "The contest continued until the boy won out at the word 'joint' (ki)." Curiously enough, the end is recovered, as I think, in a story of a riddling contest from Puna collected recently in Honolulu and sent me by Miss Laura Green.[33] As it is unpublished, with her permission I give it in full.

A certain chief living in Puna in the days of long ago, was obsessed with the desire of obtaining all the riddles possible. He therefore made it a habit to send out from time to time certain young men from his district to search out this commodity. These young men would go from place to place, and on their return give to the chief the fruits of their research. After they had finished their recital of fresh riddles, the chief would invariably spring this one upon them: "Mo-ke-ki a mo-ke-ki!" This caused astonishment and consternation, for they had never before heard such words. For failure to answer, the chief commanded his soldiers to kill them.

He continued this custom for such a long period that but few youths of the district were left alive. One day he called before him a certain young man and commissioned him to make a circuit of the island of Hawaii in order to gather new riddles. Forthwith, the youth started, going up on the first stage of his journey into the district of *Olaa*. There he saw an aged couple cultivating their land. He called out "Aloha!" and they responded with the same salutation. The old man inquired, "What brings you on this journey?" The young man answered, "I am seeking proverbs for the chief."

"Alas! how pitiful!" exclaimed the old woman. "I fear that in the morning of your life your sun will set! But tell us plainly the kind of proverb you are seeking; for never before have I seen such sadness depicted in a youthful face! It is for us to be sad, for our sun will soon set."

The young man quickly replied, "Mo-ke-ki a mo-ke-ki!"

Now the Hawaiians say that this old man had once served as court jester and inventor of riddles for the Puna chief's father and grandfather.

[33] The Hawaiian informant asserts that although his is an old Puna story and resembles Fornander's, it is "not the same story."

He knew that what the chief was probing for as an answer to his riddle was some words representing parts of the human body with the syllable *ki* in them. So the old couple laughed, and the man said, "Yes, and this is the answer to your riddle: 'Ki-hi-poo-hi-wi' (angles of the shoulders) and 'ki-hi-poo' (angles of the head). When your chief springs this favorite riddle of his upon you, answer by giving the same to him!"

Thanking them, the young man continued his journey around the island. On his return, he showed to his chief all the proverbs he had gathered. After he had finished, the chief as usual gave his favorite riddle "Mo-ke-ki a mo-ke-ki!"

The young man answered the chief as he had been advised by his Olaa friend, then challenged him with the same riddle, "Mo-ke-ki a mo-ke-ki!"

"Ah! you live!" exclaimed the chief. "And where did you get this riddle? If you can answer it, my head is yours!"

The youth, smiling, replied, "Mi-ki au," at the same time holding up both hands, palms inward that the chief might see the finger-nails (mi-ki au). He immediately fell upon the chief and beat him to death without the interference of the soldiers standing near, for they had heard what the chief said.

Thus ended the foolish search for riddles by the chiefs of Puna.[34]

If we compare this modern folk-tale with the two older Fornander versions contained in *Kipakailiuli* and in *Kaipalaoa*, for whose common source we have already argued, we shall find exactly those variations which we should expect to find in a later age. Both contestants belong to Puna, the link having been forgotten which sent heroes in more ancient times on adventures between the islands of Kauai and the district of Puna on Hawaii. There is no mention of the "oven," and, as in the episodic story, it is the chief himself rather than his disputers who suffers death. Like the episodic version, too, the riddle is not guessed but won from an old servant of the chief. Here it is by luck; in the earlier version the hero sets about the task of winning the man's confidence by kind treatment. Both lack the motive of blood-revenge which gives moral force to the more elaborate account of the

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[34] Miss Green writes: "Certain families in Puna, Hawaii, will on request give you a riddle, but refuse the answer; the reason being that they are descendants of those men who made unsuccessful attempts to answer the chief's riddle of '*mo ke ki a mo ke ki*' and perished by being baked in an oven. Their bones were stripped of the flesh (which was not eaten) and then converted into a fence around the chief's palace. If their descendants are urged to give the answer their reply will be '*Ka mea keia i holehole ia e ka iwi o na kupuna*,' For this the bones of our ancestors were stripped."

hoopaapaa contest in *Kaipalaoa* and both lack the actual display of wit in repartee which belongs to the finished tale. But Miss Green's version contributes just that turn to the conclusion which is missing in the elaborated tale dictated to Judge Fornander. Putting the two together, the three linked riddles run as follows. The wits have named thirteen islands of the group and challenge the hero to name another. He thinks of *Moku-ola*, Isle-of-life, an islet off the coast of Hilo. Catching up the word "life" (*ola*) they rejoin

Break a tooth and live (*Hai ka niho la ola*)

He answers with a pun upon the word *moku*, which as a verb signifies "to cut," and says,

Cut the joint and die (*Moku ke ki la make*)

The answer is an enumeration of the "joints" of the body, as in Miss Green's version, and the concluding challenge must be that of the "finger-nails" (mi-ki au) according to her informant. In the Fornander version, the test depends upon adding another "joint"; in Miss Green's version, it is the contestant who is challenged to name the "joints" of the body.

A study of the practise of the *hoopaapaa* in Hawaii and especially of the wit in riddling which it develops, suggests that the riddling of today is a much simpler and more childish matter than in those days when it was practised by chiefs or employed by the specially gifted to acquire fortune. Evidently much is yet to be learned about the rules of the genuine old Hawaiian riddles, for examples of which we should no doubt turn to the old chants and *hula* songs of Hawaii.

It is likely that puzzling metaphor and pun became the fashion during a special period of Hawaiian history—that period which was dominated by the brilliant group of traditional island chiefs who appear in this set of stories and which is said to represent the high water mark of Hawaiian intellectual energy.[35] Its taste dominated later art. The simplicity of the archaic style was probably

[35] See Fornander: An Account of the Polynesian Race, its Origin and Migrations, London, 1880, vol. II, 32.

vitiated by the riddling tendency, and the result is an incoherent elaboration of riddles which even in the noblest of the later chants of Hawaii remain unintelligible to the Hawaiians themselves. Scandinavian and Irish native art met the same fate, and probably through a similar domination of wit over the imagination among an aristocratic circle closed to the uninitiated.

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MEDICINE SONGS OF GEORGE FARMER[1]

By ALBERT B. REAGAN

WHILE doing research work among the Bois Fort Indians of Minnesota when I was Indian Agent at Nett Lake in that state one of my Indian policemen was a medicine man by the name of George Farmer Ne-ba-day-ke-shi-go-kay. He was a man of influence among his people. He also had a sufficient knowledge of his language, to be able to write down his thoughts in "Chippewa," though he had never been to any school so far as could be learned.

Once when at his place I accidently discovered that he had a large note book. His little daughter gave it to me, and on opening it I saw writing in it, but in a language I did not recognize. After a good deal of persuasion, I succeeded in getting him to translate the words, when to my surprise I found that the writing consisted of medicine songs and medicinal receipts.[2]

These were written in Roman script but with phonetic values similar to French. Mr. Farmer let me copy his notes. The copy of his writing is in the first line and below this is the direct translation of each word that is translatable. The words "to-o," "ho-wo-he," "we-he," and many others are just thrown-in words and do not admit of being translated. Stars indicate places where there are lengthy pauses in the song and dashes where short pauses occur. The word written "mite" is the same as the "mide," found elsewhere.

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[1] It should be noted that the orthography of the Indian words cited in this paper does not take into consideration phonetic niceties. Thus true lenes surd stops are not distinguished from sonant stops, nor are 'p, 't, 'k from p, t, k respectively. It seems likely that terminally sonant stops are aspirated but have a corresponding surd as a glide. True sonant stops do not exist after sibilants; and it is not likely that true surds exist after the consonants n, ñ, m. Possibly, to judge by the Gull Lake dialect, other peculiarities exist.—Truman Michelson.

[2] The medicinal receipts were published under the title "Some Chippewa Medicinal Receipts," in the American Anthropologist (N.S.), vol. 23, 1921, pp. 246–249.

The Medicine Songs

Song 1: As Written in George Farmer's Notebook

KAGIWEIASH OGHGABEWI SI MI TEWIG

Bemi keweinan shi madagwanina
Mi kana misiwe bemi kaweian
Mi-si-we o tenag babigotenag
Ni bawiog mi mi gi himag kashi ka wit
Mego nawag
Ni ni wa ni bawida bebi nawag
Ni te mosabebi nawog
Wi-da ni-nee nish inini wog o *nabiwog*
Edanabiian
Ano djimo a ni gi wi newa ni kan
Nani gedji no dji mo a qwi mo *ki ia ne*
Ei nawemo iane anish mi te
Nai ni ni wag nani hi teshg awag
Ni-te-mo sa
* * * * * * * *
Sagi si i tig wi ko tig
Ialiaama wanai temasa ki to bwa
Kane ki to nagane

Song 1: Kagiweiash Ochigabewisimitewig

(O. B. Johnson's Medicine Dance Song)

1. Be-mi-ka-we-i-nan shi-ma-da-gwa-ni-na
I see a bear track *or* a track bear

Explanation: The above is sung by those who are walking around inside of the Grand Medicine Lodge, and they go through the motions of looking for the bear track, dancing around the hall in a half stooped-over position.

2. Ni-ka-na	mi-si-we	be-mi-ka-we-ian
put presents on	center line in dance hall	big ducks track seen
Mi-si-we	o-te-nag	ba-bi-go-te-nag
big ducks	town	bad rocks

Free translation: Put the presents [to the gods] on the center line of the dance hall, as we have seen the tracks of the great northern loon (big ducks). The big ducks [are soaring around]. They see the rocks all around the town.

3. Ni-ba-wi-og	ni-mi-gi-si-mag	kashi-ko-wit	me-go-na-wag
Somebody standing	my shells	today	somebody shoots

Free translation: Somebody (some one of the medicine actors) standing up, "shoots" my medicine shells [for my benefit] today.

(It is believed that the konapamik shell, the sacred emblem of the Grand Medicine Lodge, is to be swallowed by the medicine man and then by the power of these shells (magic influence) he can "shoot" into the candidate's heart the mysterious power and influence contained in his medicine bag.)

4. Ni-niwa	nibawida	be-binawag	nitemosa	be-bi-na-wag
man	standing up	shoots the shells	partner friend	shoots shells

Free translation: A man standing up [in the lodge] "shoots" the shells [into the heart] of my partner; [he] "shoots" the shells. (It might also mean: A man, standing up, "shoots" the shells. My friend "shoots" the shells.)

5. Widaninee	nish ininiwag	ona-biwag	eda-na-bi-ie-an
have lots of things	two men	sit down	bed

Free translation: Two men who have lots of things sit down on a bed or mat.

6. A-no-dji-mo-a	ni-gi-wi-ne-dwa	ni-kan
somebody's brother	shoot the shells, sick	partner
Na-ni-ge-dji	no-dji-mo-a	e-wi-mo-ki-ia-ne
somebody saw him on the other side of his brother	someone falls down on his side and gets up again	somebody sings

Free translation: My partner whom you see on the other side of the sick brother "shoots" the shells into him (the candidate), as he falls down and gets up again, as somebody sings. (This stanza illustrates the action of the candidate, falling down when he is "shot" by the medicine man; the magic influence of the medicine bag being "shot" into his heart, and being too powerful for him to bear, he becomes unconscious. Such a scene as is here described can be seen at any medicine lodge dance. The person who falls down in a pretended unconsciousness is said to be sick.)

7. E-gi-na-we-mo-ia-ne	an-ish-mi-te	
somebody sang	I guess dancing	
Wai-ni-ni-wag	na-ni-bitesh-gowag	ni-te-mo-a
man	dancing all walking to town	partner

Free translation: As somebody sings there is dancing; everybody dancing walks to town with my partner. *Or:* Somebody sings and there is dancing and everybody, dancing, walks to town with my partner (the person being initiated).

8. Sagisjtigwikotig	Yahla(h) ah(h)ahmah	aniatemasa
somebody shoots shells	at wigwam	partner
Ki-t-bwa-ka-na	ki-to-na-ga-ne	
five	plates	

Free translation: Somebody (the medicine man) "shoots" the shells [in a "medicine" way] at the wigwam of my partner (the person being initiated) and [he prepares] five plates [for the chief medicine men, i.e., five dishes of eatables].

Song 2: As Recorded in the Notebook

ENAGAMI GI NAG MI TE NAGAMON

Manito ino nanawagamig
Na-na-wik-ish-go-ke manito *wiko*
Biei-na bi-wake dji gwe-wa-ge
Ki-i-e-i-na bi-wake ms ki-ia-ne
Na-na-wa-ga-mig we dji ms-ki-iane
Na-na-wi-ki-shig we dji ms-ki-iane
* * * * * * *
Awena—*ke-wi*-a-woge ki hinan
Awena——*ke-wi*-a-woge dji kwe*woke*
Ni-kani wi te
Ni kani i ko o
Dji-bi sasagadji we adaki mi to ke
Mada ni kishi ko mina *to ke*
Nano deia ko we wake edashit
Mitewa wewigani mag*wa*
Wi a mwake dawi amwake
Megwe kamig nani baw*igwen*
Kisig i nato dane ni kan *kiwidakamige*
*Kana wa*bami te
Waban ni bi tsne ni kan
Baiawage badamwewi daman
Kaogi na manito.

Song 2: E-na-ga-mi-gi-nag mi-te na-ga-mon
(Anahkahmegenung's Medicine Lodge Song)

1. Manito	ino	nanawagamig	nanawikishigoke	nimatowike
God	is	over all islands	over the heaven	[is] God (?)

Free translation: God is over the heaven and the earth. (It is hard to translate this. Na-na-mi-ga-mig is the "muskeg" (peat) in the swamps rising up out of the water, a sort of floating peat, the Indians believing that the land surface of the earth is a floating muskeg—"lots of islands on the surface of the big ocean." They base their belief on the fact that a piece of muskeg will tear loose from the bottom of the shallow lakes in that northern country and float around bearing upon it quite a bit of vegetation, even small trees. I have used such floating islands as concealments in the fall when hunting ducks on Nett Lake. I could hide among the rushes and sunflower like weeds and, putting my decoys in the clear water adjacent, could shoot ducks from that concealment as they settled on the water among them; but I had to be careful lest my island sink under my weight and leave me in the water. Na-na-wa-ga-mig also means "all over the country are big

islands," i.e., it is the earth (the middle of the universe). The Indians believe that the visible universe is composed of two plate-like parts; the sky is the upper "plate," the earth the lower "plate." They call the earth the lower middle of the universe, the sky the upper middle of the universe. They also believe that we live in the center of the upper (or land) part of the "earth-plate" and that the sky directly above us, "the visible sky," is the center of the "sky-plate." Nah-nah-we-ke-shig-oke is "the center of the "sky-plate.")

2. Bioina-bi-wake — dji-gwe-wa-ge
the thunderbird — thunders

Ki-ie-i-na — bi-wake — mo-ki-ia-ne
look see — the islands — grow up [out of the water]

3. Na-na-wa-ga-mig — we-dji-mo-ki-ia-ne
from the middle of the sky — we come down

Free translation: From the center of the earth, the land surface of the earth, the big island grows up and from the center of the earth-plate we come up. From the middle of the sky-plate in the starry vault we come down.

4. A-we-na — ke-wi-a-wage — ki-bi-nan
who — uses — medicine shells?

A-we-na — ke-wi-a-wa-ge — dji-kwe-wa-ke
who — uses — the thunder?

5. Ni-kane-we-te
the head walker in the dance.

Ni-kani-i-ho o
(the head walker in the medicine dance, the leading man, the person who leads or heads the dancing column in the Grand Medicine Lodge dance ceremonies.)

6. Dji-bi-sa-sa-ga-dji-we — a-da-ki-mi-to-ke
the daylight — comes upon the earth

Ma-da-ni-kish-i-ko — mi-na-to-ke
sky — God

Free translation: The daylight in fringed rays comes upon the earth and when the sun gets a little higher the sky clears (i.e., darkness is gone, darkness goes when the sun gets brighter).

7. Na-no-de-ia-ko-we-wake — wa-ke-e-da-shit
there not much — talking

Mi-te-wa — we-wi-ga-ni-ma-gwa
medicine men — our brethren

Free translation: There is not much talking. The medicine men are our friends or brethren." (The whole stanza seems to mean: Every one is too tired from dancing to talk much; but all the medicine men are our friends.)

8. Wi-am-wa-ke da-wi am-wa-ke
eating dog medicine dance

Me-gwe-ka-mig na-ni-ba-wi-gwèn
all the people stand up between lots of houses

Free translation: All the people [are] standing up dancing all around the village eating dog as they dance. (This stanza is sung just before the dog-eating feast begins.)

9. Kishig i-na-to-da-ne ni-kan ki-wi-da-mi-ge
sky asks brethren all round the horizon

Ka-na-wa-ba-mi-te
look and see

Free translation: The medicine man points to the sky and says: The heavens ask the brethren [of our lodge] everywhere to look and see me, (i.e., to approve his medicine acts).

10. Wa-ban ni-bi-te-ne ni-kan
morning brings friends

11. Ba-ia-wa-ge ba-da-me-we-wi-da-man
thunderers coming

Kah-ge-na manito
all gods

Free translation: The thunderers are always coming; all the gods [are always coming].

Song 3: As Recorded in the Notebook

O NA MAN ASH GWEN A GA MON

Ieewa wedahi ian ogimawano
Gwen abiian ahi gwen
Ni kan ni na to na mawa ni kan
Ka wi da mon me ni to wag

* * * * * * *

Ieewa ni to ko kagi na mi to gok we
Wigan magwakaki na *adi mig*
Awewedani na kamatweishit *kakina*
Mi tewag dji no dame wat
Awenen ni kan ni na to ma
Mite nikis manito ni kan *kiwabama*
Ia a magwaweto ti hi hishgokamig ni kan
Ka-damwe wi doke ti bishigokishik

* * * * * * *

Song 3: as sung by O-na-ma-nash-gwen-a-ga-mon

1. Iie-e-wa we-da-bi-ian o-gima-wa-no-gwen
(no meaning) see the [bed] chiefs

A-bi-ian a-bi-gwen
see (stay at home) the bed

Free translation: The lazy chiefs are staying at home in their beds (referring to those who have not come to the dance).

2. Ni-kan ni-na-to-na-ma-wa ni-kan
partner something of medicine partner
found in your pocket

Ka-win-da-mon me-ni-to-wag
I ask gods

Free translation: My partner, you have something of medicine in your pocket. Partner (my friend or brother in the lodge) I ask the gods [about it for you].

* * * * * * * * * * * *

3. Ia-e-wa ni-ko-to ka-gi-na mi-to-gok
(no meaning) I ask somebody all trees

We-wi-ga-ni ma-ga-wa ka-ki-na a-si-nig
belong to me all rock [belongs to me]

Free translation: I ask somebody (a god) if all the trees do not belong to me, if all the rocks belong to me. (The medicine man here means that everything of the universe belongs to those who belong to his order.)

4. A-we-nen-da-ne-na ka-ma-dwa-e-shit ka-ki-na
who's that talking all

Me-te-wag dji-ne-dah-no-wat
medicine understand

Free translation: Who's that talking? All medicine men understand.

5. Awenen nikan ninatoma mite mikis manito nikan
who is that partner coming medicine shells god partner

Ki-wa-ba-ma
sees

Free translation: My brother, who is coming with the medicine shells? My [partner] brother sees the god [coming with the shells].

6. Ia-a ma-gwa-we-to ti-bish-go-kam-ig ni-kan
(no meaning) loon duck center of earth partner

Ka-da-nwe-wi-dak ti-bish-go-ki-shig
hallooing half sky

Free translation: The great northern loon is hallooing to you, my brother (or partner), from the center of the land area of the universe (earth); from the half-sky (zenith) [he is hallooing].

Song 4: Sha-ga-nash-i-wash-gwena-ga-mon
(Canadian Medicine Song)

1. E-wi-wa-ba-mi-ia-ne wagidakamig koedjiwabamiiane
look and see me on top of the ground you see on

Free translation: Look, and see me! You see me on top of the ground (country or earth).

2. Ni-kan — ki-wi-da-mon — me-ni-to-wag
   my brother — I ask you — gods

Ni-kan — ki-wi-da-mon — menitowag — mishagwatog
my brother — I ask you — gods — clear sky

Free translation: My brother, I ask you about the gods. My brother, I ask you about the gods of the clear sky.

3. A-ia-a — keosabamigwen — tibishgokeshig
   (no meaning) — where you were watching me *or* I want you to see — middle of sky

Free translation: I want you to see in the middle of the sky.

4. Ki-me-te-win — tibish-go-kamig
   I give you medicine dance — middle of the earth

Ki-me-te-wi-in — ti-bish-ko-ki-shig
I give you medicine dance — middle of the sky

Free translation: I give you a medicine dance in the middle of the land area of the earth; I give you a dance in the zenith above.

5. Na-ni-ba-a-ga-wi-da — ish-gwa-teg
   walking in the night — in the door

Ki-ne-big — a-ga-wi-da
snake — walking in the night

6. Ka-ie-min — i-ka-na-wi-ton — mitewiwin — manitowan
   I, too — am keeping — medicine lodge — gods

Free translation: I, too, am keeping a medicine lodge for the gods.

7. A-ia-go — oiokima — a-io-ko — manito
   it was said to him sometimes — chief — it was said to me sometimes see — god

Free translation: It was said to me: "Sometimes I see a chief; sometimes I see a god."

8. We-sa-wa-dji-wag — ki-dji-ka-mi-we
   it looks billows on — Lake Superior

Anin — en-a-dji-wag — ki-dji-ka-mi-we
what is it — waving in billows on — Lake Superior

Free translation: It looks like billows on Lake Superior. What is it waving in billows on Lake Superior?

9. Ka-wi-ki-ka — a-ia-dji-mi-te
   getting old — somebody tell

Ka-wi-ki-ka — wa-ia-ba-ko-ke
pretty old — I see

Free translation: Somebody tells me about somebody getting old. I see a pretty old man.

Song 5: Mite Nagamon (Medicine Dance Singing)

1. Be-mi-ka-we-i-na-ne — shi-ma-da-gwa
   see track — bear

2. Shi-ma-da-gwa[3] — ni-to-ga-wi-a
   bear — I see track

Free translation: I see the bear track.

3. N-ga-na — ni-wa-ni-no-se — wi-ki-wa-mik
   friend — walking around [in] — medicine lodge wigwam

Ish-gwa-teg — ni-wa-ne-no-se
in the door of the lodge — walking around

Free translation: They are walking around the brother (friend) who is being initiated in the medicine lodge wigwam. They are walking around him in the door of the lodge. (This is the scene of the dancing actors dancing around a novitiate.)

4. I-we-da-bi-ma — ki-to-bwa-ka-ne
   set (or lay) down — pipe

I-wi-da-bi-dan — ki-to-na-ga-ne
set down — dishes of eatables (*or* dishes to eat in)

Free translation: Put down the pipe. Set down the dishes [in the place designated]. (The dishes are such as are used to contain certain eatables at the medicine dances. The scene indicated by this stanza is the preparatory ceremony to the feasting part of the medicine ceremonies.)

5. Ki-shi-gwi-bi-nan — ki-wa-wi-da-mo-ne
   sky — I ask

Ki-dji-sa-ki-ma — ki-wa-wi-da-mo-ne
sky — I ask

Free translation: I make supplication to the sky. I make supplication to the sky.

* * * * * * * * *

6. Wa-ba-ma-ga-ne — shimadagwanino — inemadabit
   see — bear — sit down

Free translation: A bear skin is exhibited, sitting down.

7. We-na-go-da-wi-ian — ti-bish-go-kam-ig
   set snare — in sky

O-mi-te — manito — ti-bish-go-ki-shig — me-ma-to-bit
medicine — god — middle sky — sat down

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[3] The *g* in *gwa* has almost the sound of *q*.

Free translation: The medicine god [of the middle of the day] made a snare in the sky and sat down in the middle of the sky.

8. Ia-ni-ka-na	shi-ma-da-gwa	be-mo-set
my brother	bear	walking

Mi-ka-nag	mi-si-se	bi-mo-se	mi-ka-nag
road	turkey	walking	road

Free translation: My brother, the bear, is walking the road; the turkey is walking the road. (This probably refers to some drawing on a birch bark parchment.)

9. A-ni-da	e-bi-na-wi-iąne	shi-ma-da-gwa
what you say	shoot me	bear

Ki-ma-ga-te-wi	te-na-ni-we	ki-wa-ki-te-na-ni-we
black	tongue	crooked

Free translation: What do you say? The black bear with the crooked tongue is going to "shoot" me [with the medicine shells]. (I have seen acts in the medicine lodge ceremonies in which a black bear skin with long tongue extending out of the mouth was pointed toward non-dancers by the dance-actors in the ceremonies as they passed by the same in their forward movement. And this stanza probably refers to such an act.)

10. Odji-ie-to-ian	wi-ia-i	ki-mi-sho-mi-si-nan
I set	(no meaning)	girl's grandfather's

O-ma-ki-sin	ani-ie-to-ian	ni-ka-da-mo-wan
moccasin	I set it	I am afraid

Free translation: I place the girl's moccasin [as you suggest]. I set it down, because I am afraid.

Song 6: Sa-gi-man-a-ki-ka-mon (Drum Singing)

1. Ka-wa-bi-kwe-hi-wat	ma-ni-tok
white haired	god

Ish-a-we-ni-mi-kok	ti-bish-ko-kamik
gives medicine by a kiss (touch-mouth process)	middle place

Ki-wi-da-ka-mik
all around the earth

Free translation: The white haired god, wherever he meets him in the middle of the earth space or all around the earth (everywhere), gives him medicinal powers (*literally* medicine) with a kiss.

2. Ish-a-we-ni-mi-kog	ni-kane	ti-bish-go-ka-mig
give him medicine by a kiss	my friend	middle place

Ke-kibwa-ganawat	niti-nemikog	kegina-kogane-wat
has pipe	full of tobacco	has dishes

Free translation: My friend, he who gave him medicine by a kiss in the middle of the earth place, has a pipe full of tobacco. He also has some dishes.

3. A-be-bi-na	bi-si-daw	ka-ia-gi-ki-to-wat
just now	some one is talking (who's talking?)	that talking

O-ko-we	mi-te-wag	we-we-ni-sa	bi-si-daw
here	medicine man	a little close like whispering in the ear	who's that

Ki-ia-gi-te-wat	ki-wi-da-ba-mig
talking	all country around

Free translation: Who is that talking just now—a little close as if whispering in the medicine man's ear? Who is talking everywhere?

4. E-go-bi	wa-hwen	o-go-we	manitog
about ten	sit down in a long circle	here	gods

Ki-ne-ia-bi-ka-ti-nag
Mesabe Ranges (of mountains)

Wegwebiioote	waiagwakidjikaming	mi-te-wag
in a long line	Lake Superior	medicine men

Free translation: About ten gods of the Mesabe Range are sitting down here in a circle; the medicine men of Lake Superior are sitting down here in a long line.

5. Ka-ie-min	nina-ga-mo-i-go	ni-kan
too, me	sing	my brother

Ni-bi-shi-gwa-na-nig	e-bit	ma-ni-to
at long point at Leech Lake	living	god

Ba-bi-gwa-wa-kag	ni-na
Leech Lake	me

Free translation: My brother, I, too, have sung at Long Point at Leech Lake (Onigum, Minnesota). The god of life also sang at Leech Lake with me.

6. Ka-bi-ma-ni-gwe-ko-mo-ian
long hair (of the god, referring to the white choppy waves)

Mi-sha-wi-ki-dji-kam	I-ba-na-be
Lake Superior	(name of a god)

E-ko-ian	ka-wa-da-ni-gwe-ko-mo-ian	kaish-gwe-kameg
is my name	long white hair hanging down the back	Lake Superior

Free translation: I am the long white hair of Lake Superior (i.e., the white, choppy waves of Lake Superior). Ibanabe is my name. I am the long white hair hanging down the back of Lake Superior.

7. Mi-edo	ma-ni-tog	o-ke-we	wa-ia-ko-no-we-wat
one	god	here (this)	crooked tail
Miedo	ma-ni-tog	okowe	ke-mi-we-no-we-wat
one	god	here	long tail

Free translation: There is one manido here with a crooked tail; there is also one god here with a long tail.

8. A-ia-gwa-mi-na-ne	ka-gi-wi-da-mo-nan
you hold (like holding a piece of money)	I ask you

O-o-we	bi-wa-big	ni-ka-ne	o-na-man
this (here)	iron (trap)	my friend	iron trap

Ka-gi-wi-da-mo-nan
I ask you

Free translation: I ask you [about] this iron [trap], my friend. My friend, I ask you about this iron trap. [Does it hold things as] you hold a piece of money? (The medicine man had probably brought a trap back with him on his return from the journey this poem is describing.)

9. Ni-sho-ka-mig	e-da	ni-ga-bi-ti-ke
medicine wigwams	two	go in
Ni-sho-ka-mig	e-da	ni-ga-bi-ti-ke
medicine wigwams	two	go in

I-da-wi-na	o-wi-bi-ia-ne
both sides	[have] shells [suspended on both sides]
Ka-ga-wa-ia	o-wi-bi-ia-ne
porcupine quills	shells

Free translation: There are two going into the medicine wigwam. Two are going into the medicine wigwam. They have shells suspended on both sides, also porcupine [quill] shells.

Ba-si-gwi-wai-ka-nan	o-now
singing medicine dance	last two

Free translation: The last two are singing a medicine dance song.

Song 7: Madjishgog Mite Nagamon
(John Johnson's Medicine Song)

1. We-we-ni	no-da-wi-ia-ne	se-se-ga-dag
easy	sighing	spruce trees

Shi-ma-da-gwa-ni-no	wa-ha-mi-ia-ne
bear singing	see me

Free translation: Among the easy sighing spruce trees, the singing bear sees me.

2. Ia o-mi-gwa-ni-ia — shi-ma-da-gwa
feather — bear

O-mi-kwa-ni-to
feather, like a goose feather

Free translation: The bear has a feather, a feather like a goose feather.

3. A-ni-wa-ba-ton — ba-i-no-se-ia-ne — shi-ma-da-goke
I wait until daylight — walking — bear

4. Bi-mo-se-ian — shi-ma-da-gog — bi-i-no-si-ian
walking — bear — down this way

O-ki-ma-win — man-e-to-wa-ne
chief — god

Free translation: I wait until daylight for the walking bear. The principal bear god is walking down this way.

5. Kah-ie-min — agi — ni-wa-ba-dan
to me — all over — see

Ka-ie-min — ba-dja-gwin — a-ki-tin
to me — men's privates — woman's privates

6. Ma-ni-to-wi — od-ji-da-sa — o-ma-ga-gi
god — sit down — frog

Na-ma-da-bi — ki-ia-wik
sit down — shoulders (hips)

Free translation: The frog manido sits down (or sat down). He sat down on his folded hind feet (hips).

7. Mi-ka-na-ke — sha-we-ni-mi-wat — mi-te-wa-ke
my [real] friend — gives goods to me — medicine man

Ba-gi-dji-kan — sha-we-ni-mi-wat — mi-te-wa-ke
blankets, calico, etc. — gives to me — medicine man

Free translation: My friend (brother in the lodge), I give the goods to the medicine man. I give blankets, calico, etc., to the medicine man.

8. Ma-dji-io-te — ki-bi-nan — ki-ia-wik
walking with all over breast — shells — shoulders

A-ia-go-ki — ki-bi-nan — ki-ia-wik
pressing down weight — shells — shoulders

Free translation: He was walking with shells all over his breast and shoulders. The shells press[ed] down the shoulders with their weight.

9. Me-te-we-ia-dji-wag — ki-dji-ka-mi-we
hear waves, yellow floating — Lake Superior

Ka-wa-be-dji-wag
hear waves

we-sa-wa-dji-wag
hear the waves

Ki-dji-ka-mi-we
yellow floating Lake Superior

Free translation: Hear the yellow floating waves on Lake Superior. (Repeated.)

Song 8: Mite Nagamon (Grand Medicine Song)

1. A-we-na-ia-ne — shi-ko-si-wa-ian — akimi-djanisa
who is that — whistle hard — young ones (children)

Free translation: Who are the young children who are whistling hard?

2. Ni-ka-na — a-to-da-ma-wa-da — o-te-i-gwen
my friend — ask for (or give to me) — your heart

We-mi-ki-sa-go — ka-no-da-ma-wa-da
god shells — give to me

Free translation: My friend, give me your heart; give me god shells.

3. O-dji-i-ko-ia-ne — ni-mi-ki-sin
talking about — shells

O-so-mi-ko-ian — ni-mi-ki-sin
talking about — shells

Free translation: We are talking about the [medicine lodge] shells. We are talking about the shells.

4. A-i-gwa — o-be-so-wag — ki-bi-nan — ma-da
just now — flying — shells — here

A-gig — o-dji-so-wag — ke-shig — ko-ko-dji-se-wag
earth (ground) — shells — sky — flying

Free translation: Just now the shells are flying (being "shot" by the medicine man—possibly only in imagination) here over the land surface of the earth. The shells (in the medicine man's imagination most likely) are flying through the sky. (This, of course, may be a poetic expression and simply refers to the using of the shells in the medicine dances.)

5. Wa-ia-bi-te — o-ki-ma-mi-te-wa — ba-ia-bi-te[4]
looks good — chief medicine man — laughing

Free translation: It looks good to see the chief medicine man laughing. The medicine man is laughing "ha, ha, ha, ha, ha, ha, ha."

6. O-to-gwen — ki-bi-nan — it-e-mo-sa
sick — shells — close friend

Ka-ie-win — ba-ba-mi-se
me to you — flying

[4] "Ba-ia-bi-te" is also pronounced 'ba-yah-pit."

Free translation: My close friend, the shells to cure the sick are flying from me to you.

7. Ka-ie-win	ba-ba-mi-se	ka-ie-win	da-ki-wi-se
me to you	flying	me to you	like shaking shells

Free translation: They are flying from me to you. They are flying from me to you like shaking shells. (The shells are being "shot" from me to you and shake as they are "shot," or are in the act of being "shot.")

8. Bi-mi-shi-mo-dji-keg
carrying blankets in the final dancing act

Free translation: They are carrying blankets in the final dancing act.

9. (an added stanza).

A-ni-da-ia-ni-ne	we-mi-ti-gosh-i-gwag
he got it	the white man
O-mo-ti-da-ka-mi-wa	o-da-to-ba-ni-wa
calico	pails

Free translation: He has the white man's calico and pails [for presents].

Song 9: Mi-te Na-ga-mon (Grand Medicine Song)

1. Sha-we-ni-mi-ia-ne	ni-kan
fondling as a mother does her child	my brother
Ka-ba-ki-te-nan	min-wa-ba-mi-gwen
raised up wigwam (*or* lifting up the flap of the door)	look good, see me
Ni-kan	ka-ba-gi-te-nan
my friend	raised up wigwam door flap

Free translation: When I raised up the door flap of the wigwam, my friend made love to me in the most loving way. As I raised up the door flap to the wigwam my sweetheart looked pleasant to me (i.e., bade me welcome by her pleasant looks).

2. Ka-ie-nin	ko-da	a-mi-shi-mi-sa
too, me	I suppose	my close friend
Ki-da-wa-ba-ma	ka-ie-min	
see	me, too	

Free translation: Me, too, my close friend, I am looking for you. Me, too, my friend, I am looking for you. (But the Indian puts it: "I suppose that I, too, my close friend, I am looking for you." This is the comer's statement on raising the door flap. The answer is: "I suppose that I, too, my friend, I am looking for you.")

3. A-wi-ka-ne	shi-ma-da-gwa	o-ka-tig
sore bone	bear	leg
A-wi-ka-ne	shi-ma-da-gwa	o-to-mig
sore bone	bear	mouth

Free translation: The bear has a sore bone in his leg. The bear [also] has a sore bone in his mouth.

4. O-to	o-ton	we-dji-shi-moke	in-te-mo-sa
mouth	mouth	somebody killed him	my close friend

Free translation: His mouth! My friend, somebody hit him in the mouth.

5. We-dji-ki-kah-ki-bi-nan	a-ia-dji-o-t
very old shells	make young ones
We-dji-ki-ka-ki-bi-nan	a-ia-dji-o-ki-bi-nan
very old shells	make young shells

6. Ia-ni-ma-na	shi-me-da-gwa	he-mo-set
my friend (brother)	bear	walking

Ni-ka-nag	mi-si-se	bi-mo-set	mi-ka-nag
road	turkey	walking	road

Free translation: My partner, the bear is walking the road. A turkey is [also] walking the road.

7. Ia-we-na	ni-ka-na	shi-ma-da-gwa
who is that	my friend	bear

Bi-mo-sa	mi-ki-nag	ma-ne-to-we	ni-ka-na
walking	road	god	friend

Free translation: Who is that? It is my friend, the bear, walking the road. It is my friend, the ma-ne-to-way (god).

Song 10: Saki-ma-naga-mon (God-singing)

1. A-be-sa-mo	ka-sha-we-ni-mi-ne
somebody wants to go home	kissing young children
A-be-sa-mo	ka-wi-sha-we-ni-mi-ne
somebody wants to go home	kissing young children

Free translation: Somebody wants to go home and kiss her young children. (Repeated.)

2. Sha-bo-te-bi-wag	o-ko-we
sit down	somebody
Me-te-wi-wi-wat	sha-bo-te-bi-wag
medicine man	sit down
O-ko-we	sa-ia-ki-ma-wi-wat
somebody see	medicine man

Free translation: Somebody sees (or saw) the medicine man sitting down.

3. A-gwa-me-nan	ki-ia-we	ma-gi-sha
hold me	tight	I guess
Ni-ko-tig	da--bi- mish-ka	ki-ton
somebody	pulls to one side	mouth

Free translation: Hold me tight. I guess somebody pulled his mouth to one side by putting his finger in one side (corner) of it and pulling it out.

4. Ish-a-wa-ni-mig ba-bi-gwa-wa-kag ebi-gwen
like kissing him Lake of the Woods living

Man-i-to we-dji-wi-ko-dji-wag ebi-gwen manito
god source of river living god

Free translation: The Lake of the Woods is a living god; the source of the river in a lake (the intake of a river from a lake) is a living god. It is as if these were making love to him.

5. I-ta-wa-ka-mig
the surface of the top of the earth and the surface below the earth

Ni-no-da-ko-dag O-mi-shi-ma-gi-na-go
must be hearing me (a god's name)

Free translation: Omishimaginago, the god of the surface of the top of the earth and the surface below the earth, must be hearing me. (The Indians believe the earth to be flat or pancake-like in shape with an upper and lower surface. Some Indians also believe the earth to be composed of apartments, one above another, the floor of each apartment being like the surface of the world upon which we live.)

6. A-no-ka-ie nin kash-a-we-ni nin
too me kissing me

We-na-gwe-shig ka-sho-we-ni-mag
in the evening I am kissing you

Free translation: Me, too, you are kissing in the evening. I [too] am kissing you. (You are making love to me and I am making love to you.)

7. Ka-ia-ki-gi-to-ian da-she-mag
I am talking about him

A-we-si we-na-na-gwi-shig
animals tonight

Free translation: I am talking about him to the animals tonight.

8. Be-ba-mi-dji-wa-ge ni-kat-ed-a-mon
flooding everywhere river downward talking

Da-bi-kwe-gi-dji-wan
[as it] recedes

Free translation: The everywhere flooding river as it rises is talking as it recedes.

Song 11: Kaish Mite Nagamon (Kaish's Medicine Song)

1. Na-si-gan na-sigan mite wi-gan
going walking going walking medicine wigwam

Free translation: He is going walking, walking to the medicine lodge wigwam. (This is sung of some object on a medicine scroll. True, the song

is written down in the language of the Bois Fort Band, as I obtained it, but no doubt it is the interpretation of some parchment drawing.)

2. Bo-dji-ni-ka-sha-bo-te wi-ki-wan
walking forward in the medicine lodge wigwam
and returning on the other side

Bo-dji-wi-ki-wa-mi-ke me-ni-to-wa-ge
walking forward in the ceremonies in medicine lodge
and returning on the opposite side

Free translation: He walks forward in the wigwam its length and returns on the opposite side. He walks forward in the medicine lodge and returns on the opposite side.

3. A-we-na ke-wi-a-wa-ge ki-bi-na-nan
who going to use shells?

Free translation: Who are going to use the medicine shells?

4. We-dji-i no-se-ian ni-kan
some one walking my friend (brother in the lodge)

Me-ni-to wa-ko-gwen ni-kan
God walking brother

Free translation: My friend, there is some one walking. God is walking, brother.

5. Da-wi-am-wa-ke da-wi-am-wa-ke
want to eat want to eat

Me-gwe-ga-mik na-ni-ba-wi-gwen
town standing up dogs

Free translation: The dogs are standing up around the town as if they want to eat, want to eat.

Song 12: Mite Nakamon (Grand Medicine [Lodge] Song)

1. Wa-we-na-go-na-ke a-gi-ni-dja-ni-sa
I try [my] son

I-we-na-ko-na-ge
I try

Free translation: I am going to try to live on good terms with my son. I will try.

2. Ni-wa-we-shi-a-gwa mi-go-ne-te-mo-sa
just as you would paint your face my close partner

Win-ni-te-mo-sa ni-ko-gi-dji-mi-ko
my close partner to keep him from getting mad

Free translation: My close partner, just as you would paint your face, paint the face of my close partner to keep him from getting mad.

3. A-o-wi-ka-ne	Ba-ga-mo	ni-ka-ne
bone	(name of a god)	brother

A-o-ka-te	wi-ka-ne
leg	bone

Free translation: This is the bone of Bagamo, brother, the leg bone.

4. Wi-a-ia-dji-mi-go-si-ian	na-go-da-mok
talking about to me	asks me

Manitog	wa-bi-she	shi-wa	e-ko-ian
God	speaks	Martin	my name

Free translation: God speaks to me and asks me if Martin is my name.

5. We-go-ne ke-gwe-dji-i-na-ian-e	mi-te-wi-win
what is it I shall give	medicine dance

Ma-ni-to-wan	ni-kan	ge-gwe-i-ian-e
god	my friend	shall be initiated

Free translation: What is it I shall give the medicine dance god, my friend, [if] I shall be initiated [into the lodge]? *Or* what is it I shall give the medicine dance god [as a present], my friend (or brother), if I try to be initiated [into the lodge]? (The inquirer here wishes to know how many presents he must put on the "medicine line" that is stretched through the center of the lodge so that he may be admitted into the degree which he seeks to take.)

6. Ma-ni-to-wan	i-no-se-ia-ne	o-kwe-kan
god	walking	sweat house
Ma-ni-to-wan	bi-mo-se-ian	a-gik
god	walking	ground

Free translation: The god is walking to the sweat house. The god is walking on the ground.

Song 13: Ma-djish-gag (Mahjishkung) Mite Nagamon
(John Johnson, Grand Medicine Song)

1. Be-mi-ka-we-ian-ne	shi-ma-da-gwa	ni-na
see track	bear	me
Eshi-ga-we-i-nan	i-ko-dji	wa-go-sha
I see, look track	somewhere	fox

Free translation: I saw a bear track. I also looked and saw a fox track somewhere.

2. Ni-kan-a	ba-bi-ko-te-nag	bi-mi-ga-we-ian
my friend	town	see track

Free translation: I see a track in the town.

3. Ni-ba-wiag	ni-mi-ki-si-nag	ka-shi-ko-wit
stand up	medicine shells (my)	today

Me-ni-to-wit
god

Free translation: Stand up today with the medicine shells of the god[s].

4. I-ni-ni-wa	ni-ba-wa-tog	me-go-na-wag
man	standing up	shooting
I-te-mo-sa	ni-ba-wi-tog	me-ko-na-wag
my close friend	stand up	shooting

Free translation: The man is standing up "shooting" the shells. My close friend is standing up "shooting" the shells.

5. E-gi-no-we-mo-ia-ne	anish	mi-te-wi-ni-ne-wa
good sing	I guess	medicine
Na-ni-bi-tesh-ka-wa-ge	i-te-mo-sa	
walking around	my close friend	

Free translation: I guess my close friend, the medicine man, is singing good [while] walking around.

6. Me-da-ni-ne-e	ni-sh	i-ni-ni-wag
all kinds of goods	two	men
E-da-na-bi-ian	i-te-mo-sag	o-na-bi-wag
bedroom	my friend	sit down

Free translation: Two men with all kinds of goods sit down in the bedroom of my friend.

7. Man-i-to	ba-ba-mi-te	mi-ti-gog
God	sees	trees
O-ma-gwa	wa-ba-mi-te	
bear	sees	

Free translation: The Manito sees the trees. The bear sees them.

8. Be-mo-da-keg (This was not sung.)
talking

9. Wasa	ni-bi-ti-na-wah	ni-kan
little, far	shooting	my friend
I-te-mo-sa	ni-kan	
my close friend	brother [in the lodge]	

Free translation: From quite a distance my friend, my close friend, is "shooting" my brother [with the shells].

10. Be-shick	a-wa-ke	me-mi-to-wit	ki-bi-nan
one [more]	like	gods	shells

Free translation: There is one more like the god's shell (a shell of the gods).

11. Ma-totok	na-ishi-na-gwo-ian	she-ma-to-kog
sweating	like me	bear

Ni-wik a-ni-ie-to-ian ki-mi-sho-mi-si-nan
four times putting something grandfather
(that's what I put)

O-ni-gi-sin ni-ko-da-mo-win shi-ma-to-kwa
moccasin I am afraid bear [shooting]

Song 14: Farmer John Sag-im-an-a-ka-mom.
(Farmer John's Singing)

1. Weko-ne-ne ke-wa-ti-na-ma-wi-'an
what is it you say? are you trying beating me?

Ki-da-se-ma ani-mash-an ke-wa-ti-na-mo-wi(n)
look at tobacco first dog are you trying beating me?

Free translation: What is it you say? Are you trying to beat me? Look at the tobacco first, also the dog. Are you trying to beat me?

2. Ka-ba-ba-mi-dji-wag da-ba-ba-mi-dji-wan
the flooding and receding river come back again

Free translation: The high waters in the receding river come back again.

3. Wa-ni-se wa-dji-wig ka-ba-bi-ti-ke-ian
hill in hill he goes in

Mi-si-we wa-dji-wik ka-ba-bi-ti-ki-an
all over in hill he goes in

Free translation: He goes into the hill. All over the hill he goes into it (something like ants going into their ant-hill nests).

4. Ma-no ni-kan ka-na-na-to-wi-go
let it go my friend it will be all right to doctor a long time

Ma-no ni-kan wi-ko ga-na-nato mi-ko
let it go my friend a long time to doctor a long time

Free translation: Let it go, my friend. It will be all right to doctor a long time. Let it go a long time, my friend, and [it will be necessary] to doctor a long time.

5. No-da-wa-ke mi-te-wa-ge
I am hearing [some] medicine men

Ni-wa-ba-ma-ge dji-mi-te-wi-wat
I am going to see the medicine dance

Free translation: I hear the medicine men. I am going to see the medicine dance.

6. Ni-wa-gi-shi-gwa-ne ni-na ani-dje-ni-shi-nabe[5]
crooked tails (as of snakes) me is my Indian

[5] Shi-nabe equals "my" or "ours." Shi-nabi ogema is "our agent."

Iie-dashi-mi-kwen	ni-na	nida-koti-nawa	ni-na
talking	me	trying shooting shells,	me

Free translation: Is my Indian talking to me crooked, like the crooked tail of a snake? I will try to "shoot" the medicine lodge shells.

Song 15: Mite Nagamon (Medicine Singing) by Andy Fields

1. Ni-ka-na	bab-i-ko-te-nag	bi-mi-ga	we-iane
my friend	lots of houses	my tracks	[around] town

Free translation: My friend, my tracks are all around the town. (I, as medicine man, visit all the houses.)

2. Ni-wi-wa-na-ne	ni-io-gan	be-mo-ce-ian-e
I try	four nights	walking

Free translation: I was taking medicine-exercises four nights.

3. No-shi-she-i-tok	i-na-gi-nin	mi-ta	wi-ian
my son-in-law's child	look	me	medicine

Free translation: My son-in-law's child, look at [the effects of] my medicine [powers], *or* look at what I can do with my medicine.

4. We-we-ni	mi-te-wi-iane
easy	my medicine
Ni-mi-no-mi-te-be	ko-sho-nin[6]
my good medicine	me

Free translation: My medicine dance is easy. My medicine is good. Mine is good medicine.

5. Ia-ia-ni-ne	na-na-we-ka-mik	me-gwa
dodge from the "shot" shells	way down somewhere in the country	bear
No-ni-da-wa	na-gwa	ni-wa-ba-ma
indications that some one is talking off in the thick brush	bear	see

Free translation: Down somewhere in the country the bear dodges the "shot" medicine shells. Somewhere in the thick brush (woods) the bear sees indications [that some one is there and] talking.

6. Ia-wi-i-i-ie	Ka-gish-gi-si-tot
(no meaning)	Cut Foot
I-gwane	me-te-wi-ian
my brother	my medicine dance

Free translation: Cut Foot, my brother, [that is] my medicine dance (singing).

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[6] *Koshonin* is "me," "my," "mine," usually "mine."

Song 16: Kay-gi-we-iash Sa-gi-ma-na-ga-mon
(O. M. Johnson's Singing)

1. Ka-bi-si-da-go-man	a-king	w-ie-na-bit	
my sign is that some one is talking away off	[the] earth-land	sitting down somewhere	

Free translation: By my sign, some one, sitting down somewhere away off on the earth-land, is talking. I see mirrored in the water that some one is sitting down.

2. I-ie-shi-na-gi-wi-o-ian-e	ki-wa-ba-ma
look at my clothes	see
Ni-to-bwa-ka-ne	i-ie-shi-na-gwi-o-iane
five sm king pipes	look at my clothes

Free translation: Look at my clothes. Also see five smoking pipes. (Repeated.)

3. Ie-ishi-na-gwi-oiane	ni-kan[7]	o-ma-gok	o-te-ig
look at my clothes	my friend	bear	heart
Iie-shi-na-gwi-oiane	ni-kan	otonig	
look at my clothes	my friend	bear's mouth	

Free translation: Look at my clothes, my friend. Also look at the bear heart. Look at my clothes, my friend. Also look at the bear's mouth.

4. A-we-gwen	ni-kish-win	aia-na-we-da-mo-kwen
whose that	fellow	that's no good see
Ni-kan	o-da-na-ki-ba-wa-dan	ni-te-wi-win
my friend	good sleep	medicine dance

Free translation: Who is that fellow who is no good? See, my friend, he is having a good sleep at the medicine dance.

5. Winawa	ni-ti-gok	ni-ka-nag	mi-to-win
this	[I] ask you	my friend	medicine man

Free translation: I ask you this, my friend medicine man.

6. Winawa	nitogok	nikanag	nagamon	nitigok
this	I ask you	my friend	singing	I ask, me

Free translation: I ask you this, my friend. I ask you, Are you singing for me?

7. A-nin	e-go-teg	a-bi-i-ian
what you say	how long wigwam	living

[7] One speaker would pronounce this word "ne-kan," another "ne-kahn," and another "ni-kan." The word was pronounced "ne-kahn" by the singer at the time the song was chanted to the author. The same is true of many other words in this article. In one song they may be pronounced one way, and in another quite differently though the spelling of the word is the same. The connecting sounds before and following a word also often modify the initial and terminal sound, or syllable.

Free translation: What do you say? How long have you been living in the wigwam?

8.	A-nin what you say	e-go-we how far do you halloo *or* how far do you send your talking?	ki-ia-we all over

Free translation: What do you say? How far can you send your voice? (*Answer:*) Everywhere.

Song 17: Ho-ho-ho Mite Nagamon
(Po-po Martin's Medicine Song)

1.	Ia-gi-to feathers (medicine man is carrying)	gwa-ni-da	mi-shi-ma-da-gwa bear skin token
	Ia-gi-te-gwa-ni-da feathers (medicine man is carrying	mi-shi-bi-shi mountain lion	bi-mi-ka-we-da track

Free translation: The man with the feather[s] has a bear skin token. The man carrying the feathers [also] has a mountain lion token (foot).

2.	Ni-gwe-se my son	o-ko-naia-sa close	shi-ma-da-gwa bear	o-wi-ia-wiag my will (*or* wish)

Free translation: My son, it is my wish that you keep close to the bear (i.e., the instructions in the bear ceremonies).

3.	A-wa-ke try	win this	me-ni-to-wit god	ki-bi-na-ne shells
	A-wa-ke try	win these	shwa-ni-ia-wit wampum-like money	ki-bi-nan shells

Free translation: Try these, the shells of the gods. Try these; they are like money shells. (Try these shells of the gods. Try the wampum.)

4.	We-bi-da-ga-ni-ian pocket-medicine bag	shi-ma-da-gwa bear	o-nig foot
	We-shi- shi-gwa-ni-ian little medicine drum	shi-ma-da-gwa bear	te-e heart

Free translation: The little medicine bag is a bear's foot. The little medicine drum is the bear's heart. (The little medicine drum represents the bear's heart.)

5.	Wa-ba-ma-ga-ne seen after a while	shi-ma-da-gwa bear	kimin this	ine, me,	ma-da-bit sit down

Free translation: I will see the bear after a while. I am [now] sitting down here.

6.	Ni na me	we-to-ni-ian mouth	shi-ma-da-gwa bear

Free translation: My mouth is like a bear's mouth.

7. Be-mi-ka-we-in-na shi-ma-da-gwa ‹ sho-ka-we-nan
see track bear see track

Free translation: I see a bear track. I see the track.

Song 18: E-na-ka-mi-ki-nag Sa-si-ma-na-ga-mon
(Andy Field's Medicine Singing)

1. Ni-bi-na-se-da-wag
somebody go see

Metwo-kagi-kito-wate osh-ki-na-wa-gig
talking middle of the earth

Free translation: I hear talking in the middle of the earth. Somebody go and see.

2. Ni-ma-mi-no-kish-we n'-kan nigote ekitoian
good talking my friend after a while talking

Free translation: It is good talking. My friend will hear good talking after a while.

3. Wa-ia-se-ia- ni-bi-we we-tinag awesi manwa
ga-mig
pure clear water find animals bear

Free translation: The bear finds pure, clear water for the animals.

4. Ka-gi-dji-wa-nck wa-wa-ba-mi-ian
head of the river in the lake (the begin- sees me
ning of a river that has its
source in a lake)

Gish-a-we-ni-min we-dji-wa-ba-mi-ian
kisses and fondles me as a mother it sees me
does her babe

Mo-ki-dji-wa-nok wa-wa-ba-mi-ian
the spring (source of the river) sees me

5. We-da-ka-mig-o-ke ki-sho-we-ni-mi-ne
all over the country you make over me as a mother makes over her
babe

We-dji-wa-ba-mi-iane
you see me

Free translation: All over the country when you see me you make over me in a loving way. *Or better:* Everywhere you see me you make love to me.

6. Ne-ba-mi-shi-mo-a-gwa o-mishi-nia-gi-na-go-gwek
somebody dancing goddess of the big mountain

Free translation: There is somebody dancing. It is the goddess that lives in the big mountains.

7. Ka-iam-we oninamawishin minig a-wa-si-iag
Kaiamwe gave *or* gives to me all animals

Free translation: Kaiamwe gave to me (or us) all the animals [for our use]. (Kaiamwe is the name of the god[dess] that lives in the big mountains toward the south from Nett Lake, evidently the Mesabe Range of mountains.

8. Ne-ia-bi-ka-ti-nag ba-ba-na-ga-mo-ian
Mesabe Range sings

I-ba-na-be e-go-ian
zenith god (half-way sky god) my name

Ne-ia-bi-ka-ti-nag ba-ba-na-ga-mo-ian ko-iam-we
Mesabe Mountains sings zenith god

Free translation: The half-way god of the Mesabe Range sings my name. The half-way sky god of the Mesabe mountains sings my name.

Song 19: Enagamiginag Onomanashgwenagamon
(Andy Field's Medicine Song)

1. Wi-si-gi-ma-ni-to-wi ni-sho-ki-ma-ni-to-wi
we are your gods two times you are our gods

2. Ma-ne-do-wi-kam-ig ado-ta-mi-ke ni-ki-bi-ti-ke
God's medicine house somebody tells me I go into [the medicine house]

Onamanetowigamig otodamike nikibitige
god's medicine house somebody tells me I get into medicine dance

Free translation: Somebody tells me I shall go (or be admitted) into the medicine dance in the god's medicine house. Somebody tells me that I shall get into the god's medicine house in the dance [there], [for] two times [something has said to me], "We are your gods, [and] you are our gods."(?) (The above, includes 1 and 2.)

3. Be-ga-na-bi-te shi-ma-da-gwa-ni-no ma-ni-to-wi-gwen
there sit bear god

Free translation: There sits the bear god. (This the medicine man says as he points to a stuffed bear skin, or to the place in the heavens where the mythical bear god is supposed to dwell.)

4. Ka-gi-dji-o shi-ma-da-gwa wi-ki-wa-mig
walking slowly because sore bear medicine lodge

A-ia-dji-o she-ma-da-gwa wi-ki-ma-mig
changes his clothes bear medicine lodge

Free translation: The bear [god] is walking slowly in the medicine lodge because he is sore [from dancing so long]. The bear changes his clothes in the medicine lodge. (After this mock change, the bear actor dances rapidly on the return around the lodge.)

5. Wa-sa ni-to-ti-na-wa ki-ga-ni-nan bo-kot
for I shoot friends on this side

Explanation: In this act each dancer points his medicine bag toward some looker-on and blows his breath over it toward him (or her) and this one falls down as if struck by some powerful shock from an unseen source. He then gets up and falls in line behind the man who "shot" him and proceeds to "shoot" others. When white people are present, the actor who is "shot" does not usually fall down, but he always dodges as if trying to escape a blow from something, and then falls in line in the dance immediately following the one who "shot" him.

6. Ka-gi-ke mi-nwe-we	ni-mi-te-wa-ian
good music	shaking music
Ka-gi-ke-mi-mwe-we	ni-mi-te-wi-gan[8]
good music	shaking music

Explanation: The actor is here playing his rattle-drum as he sings this song. The words which he repeats are: "Good music, shaking music."

7. Ke-go-in-oake	ni-kan	ni-go-dji-mi-te-we	kawabamig
don't point at	[my] partner	some place	he'll see you

Free translation: Do not point [the medicine bag] at my friend (partner), as he will see you. (Meaning the opposite, that he should point it at him and get him to join in the dance.)

8. A-ni-qi-i, bo-ni-ia-ne	ni-so-ka-mig, bo-ne-iane, wikiwan
what would happen if I let alone	three medicine lodges

Explanation: It is difficult to get any meaning out of this stanza. *Boniiane* (*bone-iane*) is used by these Indians much as we use the word "let"; but the sentence, "What would happen if I let three medicine lodges?" has no meaning. It would seem to mean, "What would happen if I went away from the three medicine lodges?" The next stanza seems to answer this.

9. Eshi-na-gwi-oian	abosh-ke	shi-ma-da-gog
the looks of you	if you don't care	bear

Free translation: (This would seem to mean) If you do not care [more for yourself than that], the looks of you are just like those of a bear (*literally* a female b ar).

Song 20: Mite na-ga-mon O-ka-be-ki-shig
(Medicine Song by All Day)

1.Ni-kan	o-wi-ia-wi-ia-ne		bo-sh-ke
partner	soul		if you care
Ki-ne-bi-kok	o-wa-ko-wat	ni-kan	o-wi-ia-i-nane
snake	eggs	partner	soul
Bo-sh-ke	mi-ti-gok		o-wa-ko-wat
if you care	trees		eggs

[8] In the *gi* and the *gan* it is hard to get an English equivalent. The *g* has a sound somewhere between our *g* and *k*.

Free translation: If you wish your spirit to increase in power take notice of the increase of a snake from its eggs. My partner, if you wish your soul to increase in power, take notice of the increase of the trees by their seed producing parts. (This stanza is very difficult to translate.)

2. Gi-wa-ban ina eshi-ian ikine-bi-kwa-ian
see me talking snake [skin]

Ne-na-bo-wi-ian ne-wa-bi-shi-mok
talk to me as it is placed in a certain position in the middle of the dancing area on the ground and a person dances upon it

Free translation: See me talking to the snake skin. Also see it talking to me as it is placed in a certain designated position in the middle of the dancing area on the ground and a dancer dances on it. (This represents an act in the dance, or, rather, this scene is acted out in the dance. The snake skin is exhibited by the medicine actor as he sings. In the closing part of the act he usually throws the skin on the ground and dances on it.)

3. A-io-wi-bi-mi-na wa-ni-te-mo-sa
shells brother

A-wi-ni-ni ni-na-na-to-na-wa
the man is concealed you shoot just where you think he is

Free translation: My brother, the man is concealed. You "shoot" the medicine shells where you think he is.

4. Ga-ga-wa-ia o-wi-bi-mi-na ki-ka-ni-nan
something like the quills of a porcupine (but imaginary) shoot[s] brethren

5. Ki-da-sha-we-ni-nom-ni-mon

6. Ka-ka-ki da-ma-ni-ti-wi
the crow is god

Wi-na-ge da-ma-ni-to-wi
the turkey buzzard is god

Song 21: The Ogemah Dance Song of Farmer John,
Sung by his Son, Ne-be-day-ke-shig-o-kay (George Farmer)

1. ni-ka-gi-na ni-o-ka-na-gi-mi-kog manitog (yay-hay'yah-hay)
all people select gods

Free translation: The gods select all people.

2. Ni-ka-gi-na ni-ki-o-na-gi-mi-kog
all people select

Manitog ki-wi-da-gi-shig-oge
gods all around the sky

Free translation: The gods select every one all around the horizon.

E-ie-i-na-bit	yay-hay-yay-hay
(no meaning)	(no meaning)

3. Mi-si-we-ma-ni-tok	ni-sha-we-ni-mi-kog	Yay-hay-yay-hay
all round, gods everywhere	they love me	
Ka-gi-na	man-i-tog	ni-sha-we-ni-mi-kog
all	the gods	love me

Free translation: The gods everywhere love me. (The term "nishaweni-mikog" equals "affection extending to fondling and kissing as a mother does her babe.")

4. Ka-ba-bi-dji-no-wag	ki-shi-ke	mi-si-we
wind is coming	sky	all over
Ki-shi-goge	ga-wa-odji-noweg	way-hay-way-hay
sky	wind is coming	

Free translation: The wind is coming from all over the sky; the wind is coming from the sky.

5. Me-twe-nana-go-mi-to	awasikishigoge	e-bi-gwen
is talking to me	other side of sky	somebody
Manito	yay-hay yay-hay	
god	(no meaning)	

Free translation: Some god is talking to me from the other side of the sky.

6. Ka-da-da-bi-noweg	kishike	notin	(yay-hay-yay-hay)
coming pretty quickly	sky	wind	

Free translation: In a few minutes the wind will be coming from the sky.

7. Ni-bi-wa-ba-dan		e-dah-nah-gi-ia-ban	
we come to see		where I used to live	
Mi-ki-nin-oma	agig	oda-na-gi-ia-ban	(yay-hay-yay-hay)
that is where	on earth	where I used to live	

Free translation: We come to see where I used to live; and there on earth that is where I used to live. (This is what the medicine god is saying to the medicine man.)

As actually sung the above, was arranged as follows:

1. Ni-ka-gi-na ni-o-ka-na-gi-mi-kog manitog, yay-hay-yay-hay.

2. Mi-si-we ma-ni-tok ni-sha-we-ni-mi-kog ka-gi-na man-i-tok nisha we-ni- mi-kog, yay-hay-yay-hay.

3. Me-dwe-na-na-go-mi-te a-wa-si-ki-go-ge o-bi-gwen manito, yay-hay-yay-hay.

4. Ni-bi-wa-ba-dan e-da-na-gi-ia-ban mi-ki-nin-o-ma a-gig e-da-na-gi-ia-ban, yay-hay-yay-hay.

5. Ni-ka-gi-na ni-ki-o-na-gi-mi-gog man-i-tog ki-wi-da-gi-shig oge e-ei-i-na-bit, yay-hay-yay-hay.
(And so on.)

Song 22: Kinebigwashgwenagamon
or Snake Song

1. Ish-go-te-wa-ne ni-ia-we
fire inside me (*or just* me)

2. Shi-shi-gwen-wa-ne ni-ia-we
soul inside me (*or just* me)

Free translation: There is fire within me. My soul [is] within me.

3. Ni-ia-we wa-ba-dan
me look, see

Free translation: Look at me and see.

4. Ni-ka-nag ni-wi-to-ka-wa-ke ka-gi-na
all

Ni-te-wa-ke ni-wi-to-ba-nag
medicine men eating

5. Da-o-na-gi-shi-ne ki-mi-sho-mi-si-nan
somebody swoons my mother's father

O-to-bwa-ga-na-ne da-ona-gi-sin oto-na-ga-ne
five smoking some put down dishes five

Explanation: In this act the novitiate is "overcome" by the strong medicine "shot" into his person from the medicine bags, the same entering his heart, and he falls in a swoon. His mother's father (or some other relative) then comes and lifts him up and he is prayed over. The five leading medicine men then take a smoke and the five plates of soup are set out for them.

6. Wa-na-ni-ka-na e-ti-ia-ne-i
partner not sick

Explanation: The novitiate is now no longer sick. He is now past the pretended sick stage in the performance.

7. Ki-wi a-ia-dji-mi-go mi-ka-ne
somebody is talking [to] my partner

Ki-wi-wa-wa-ban-ni-go ni-ka-ne
somebody sees [my] partner

Free translation: Some medicine man is talking to the novitiate. Some one is also paying attention to him so that he will learn the lodge ceremonies properly.

8. Ni-ia-a-dji-mi-go ni-ga-ne ni-gi-ne-bi-gwa-ian
somebody takes [to] partner snake skin medicine bag

Na-no-te-a-go-wet ni-ka-ne
not much talking [to] partner

Free translation: Somebody takes the ceremonial snake skin medicine bag and presents it to the novitiate; he, however, talks but little to the novitiate.

9. Ka-bi-ni-dji-wa-no-kwen ki-ni-bin
[like] running water

10. Win-sa-ka-ne-we-na ma-ga-te-shi-shi
somebody takes black snake's tail

Kwe-wa wi-sa-ga-bi-te-na-wi
teeth somebody takes

Free translation: Somebody takes the skin [of the black snake] by the tail; and somebody [takes it by] the teeth [in the performance].

11. Ia-a-wi shi-shi-gwe-wa o-ni-dje-ni-san
? big snake little snakes (eggs)

Ni-ki-ga-da-me-shi-ma
inside

Explanation: In this act the medicine actor exhibits a big snake skin as he offers up a prayer in behalf of the novitiate, which means: "May your offspring increase upon the earth as the snake's does, and may you have power, both charm and cunning, as the black snake has."

Song 23: By Tom Farmer—Wabeno Wagamon (Wabeno Song)

Each of the following parts is sung over from two to ten times:

1. In-ni-gwan-ni-sa ka-no-da-we wi-i-wi-wi
my brother-in-law hears me (no meaning)

In-ni-gwa-ni-sa ka-no-ba-min wi-i-wi-i
my brother-in-law sees me (no meaning)

2. Be-ba-mi-dje-wak ki-dji-ga-mi-we
floating ocean

Be-ba-mi-bo-got ki-dji-mi-ki-nag
floating turtle

* * * * * * * * * *

3. A-ia-a gi-dah-i-sa-ga-dji-we
coming hill

A-ia-a gi-dah-i-sa-ga-dji-we
coming hill

* * * * * * * * * *

4. O-na-ma in-dah-wah-aish-gwe- mi-ki-oti-na
? ga-mi-gag
I got [it] the edge [of] the land

5. Io-o gi-dji i-shgote io-o madji ishgote
? big fire ? bad fire

6. O-na-to-ne-wag a-do-ne-wag
shooting I am looking, I am

7. Wa-sa wa-sa in-da-na-to-ma-a we-si
far far want them to come animals

Ke-ka-me-wa-go-ka-net be-sho be-sho
with long legs a little way a little way

Ni-do-o-to-ma me-got-te-wi-sit aw-e-si
packing black animals

8. O-dji-da o-dji-da ni-mi-ga-wa a-we-si
I can I can find animals

* * * * * * * * * *

Explanation: The parts of the song are explained as follows:

1. "My brother-in-law (the daylight) hears me. My brother-in-law (the daylight) sees me." The medicine men imagine that Daylight is a person and is listening to their supplications.

2. "Floating ocean" means the water that surrounds the land; "floating turtle" means the land surface of the earth. The waters of the earth are believed to be flowing about on the upper side of the "earth-plate" mentioned above (see p. 336), and in this great sea is the land surface of the earth floating about like a huge turtle's back sticking above the water. The stanza means: "I see the floating ocean. I see the floating turtle" (that is, the land surface of the earth). The medicine man sees this in his mind's eye, in his imagination as he delves in song. These also hear him in his supplications, he believes.

3. "Coming hill, coming hill." This means that somebody (a manido) is coming up the hill.

4. "I use [it] the edge of the land, bad medicine" or, "bad medicine, I use it, edge of the land." A long time ago the Indians had a bad medicine man and bad medicine; and the medicine man is singing to keep this medicine man and his medicine off the edge of the earth. Freely rendered it would be "I use this (his medicine) to keep the bad medicine man and his medicine off of the edge of the earth."

5. "Big fire; bad fire." This means: "I see a big fire. I see a bad fire." The medicine man here refers to the blazing comet or meteor that crosses the sky. He may have seen the actual comet, or it may have been only a product of his imagination, but with the Indian, as with many white people, a comet is an omen of evil, and the Indian used "medicine" to keep it from harming the earth.

6. "I am shouting. I am looking." Here the medicine man is shouting and hallooing and looking to get the attention of the Wabeno manido (the god of the morning). He acts this out just like a person looking for some one who is lost.

7. "Far, far, want them to come, animals with long legs, a little way, packing black animals." Freely translated this is: "I want some [spiritual] animals to come from a long way off. [I want them also to be] black animals with packs on their backs." This is the prayer the medicine man is repeating

to his manido after he has found him (in the 6th stanza). In the next stanza he finds the animals sought.

8. "I can, I can find black animals, black animals." That is, "I am able to find, I tell [you people], I am able to find the animals, the pack animals [I prayed for]." The pack animals are the pack animals of the manido and are bringing presents to the people, trade articles, plenty of fish, plenty of serial crops and berries, plenty of fur, plenty of game, and increase of the human family.

Song 24: By J. K. Redbird

Ya-hay- ah-a-hay ya-hay ah-a-hay ya-hay ah-a-hay
We are to have a dance for the visitors that come. (Repeat.)
Ay-hyah-ay ay-hyah-ay ay-hyah-ay yah-ay hay-ah ay-yah-hay
Ay-he-yah ay-yah-hah ay-yah-hah ay-yah-hay. (Repeat.)
Ay-hah ah he-yah hay hay ah-oh
Yah-hah ah he-yah hay-hay-ah-oh (Repeat four times.)
Yay-yah ay-hah hay yoh hay-hay-o.

Song 25: O-ka-be-ke-shig mi-te-nag-a-mon
(All Day's (Singing) Medicine Song)

1. Bi-da-sa-mo-se	ma-ne-to-wi-da	o-da-sa-mo-se
somebody seen coming	god like	coming down here

Free translation: There is seen coming somebody god-like in appearance. This somebody is coming here.

2. Bas-to-se-ian		ni-kan
me-see coming		friend
We-dji-mo-ka-age	man-e-to	wi-ka-mi-gok
sun [coming up]	god's	wigwam[9]

Free translation: My friend, I see the sun coming up over the wigwam of the manido.

3. Wi-na	ni-ga-na	be-ma-o-ian	me-te-wig-a-na
my	friend	try	medicine wigwam

Free translation: My brother (friend), try to join the medicine lodge.

4. Ka-wa-ba-min	ke-bi-i-ni-go-ne-ia-ne
see you	like the light coming
I-to-nik	i-to-nik
mouth	mouth

Free translation: I see you as I would see a light coming from your mouth. (Not very clear but seems to mean, "I see you as distinctly as I would see a light through a window.")

5. Shi-ma-da-gwa	dji-mi-mo-si-an
bear	walking

[9] God's wigwam (wigwam of the manido *also* medicine lodge).

I-te-mo-sa
my close friend

dji-o-da-bi-nag
I take it

Free translation: My close friend, I take the bear walking.

6. Ni-na-ni-gi-a
shivering as from cold

e-te-mo-sa
m close friend

dji-o-da-bi-nag
I take you

7. A-ni-da-ian-ine
he got it

mi-te-wa-ni-ni-wag
medicine man

O-ha-ki-dji-ka-ni-wan
goods, blankets, and so on

o-da-tan-ka-ni-wan
also pipe

Free translation: The medicine man got the goods, blankets, calico, etc., also the pipe.

8. Ba-bi-ke
now

ni-da-na-ia-ni-kog
not much good me

Ni-ka-nag
my friend

e-da-shi-wat
all

Free translation: My friend, I am not much good. All (everything) is not much good now (any more).

9. Wa-e
?

ni-ko-dja-a
try

o-ki-ma-wa-bo
chief eater

A-ia-wi-bi-ian
shells

sho-ni-ia
money

wa-bo
drink

Free translation: Let the chief try to eat shells and drink money. *Or* The chief tries to drink from the medicine shells and eat from the money (shells). (This is quite difficult.)

* * * *

10. O-ka-be-gi-shing
All Day's

ma-to-dok
sweat house singing

11. Wi-i-i
?

ni-no-da-mo-wan
signs (making motions)

odon
mouth

ebi-te-nig
like shaking the mouth with the hand

Free translation: Somebody is making signs with his mouth, just as if he were shaking his mouth with his hands.

12. O-te-da-ga-nag
somebody is coming

e-ie-na-ge-shi-nan
behind fluttering owl (coming behind me fluttering, flapping its wings over the ground trailing me.)

Free translation: Something is coming. It is an owl trailing me. It is behind me fluttering and flapping its wings over the ground.

Before leaving this subject, the writer believes he should add a word of explanation concerning the Bois Fort Ojibwa medicine

lodge or Grand Medicine Lodge (Society), so that the reader will get a clear idea of the meaning of the above songs.

The Grand Medicine Lodge Society (Mitawit, Midewi, or Midewiwin)

The actors in this Grand Medicine order are mystery men (*mide*) or medicine men. Their profession is incantation, exorcism of demons, and the administration of shamanistic or magic remedies.

As is indicated in the name, the order is an organized society. It is graded into four separate and distinct common degrees, and at Nett Lake four special degrees have been added, making eight in all. Both sexes are admitted to it. Admission to membership in the degrees is considered of great importance and consequently is difficult and is preceded and followed by elaborate ceremonies As a rule, a male candidate is one who has been selected for that distinction by the presiding medicine man at the "giving a name" or birth ceremonies of that respective person, the medicine man then assuming the office of god-father for the child. From that date on the parents of the boy gather presents to defray the expenses of his preliminary instruction by a selected medicine man when he reaches the age of puberty, to pay for the feasts given to all who attend the initiation ceremonies, and to furnish the required presents to the medicine men on that occasion.

Obtaining a degree often involves a candidate hopelessly in debt. Should he fail to liquidate the same, his relatives are expected to assume the responsibility thus incurred. The writer has known Bois Fort Indians to live in a starving condition for years, so that a member of the family could take one of these degrees. One aged, indigent woman at Pelican Point (Orr, Minnesota), had saved (starved), it is said, for thirteen years so that she could take the fourth degree before she died, so great was her desire to become an acknowledged medicine woman.

In this society, as maintained at Nett Lake, there are preserved the traditions relating to cosmogony and the genesis of mankind.

It also teaches that an anthropomorphic deity appeared on earth in the long ago and interceded between Che-manido (Kitshi

Manido) and the Indians. He taught the latter the means wherewith they might provide themselves with the good things of earth and the power of warding off sickness and death. He gave to the Indians the various plants and instructed them in their uses.

This being is known by the name of Manabush (Manibusr *or* Minabozo). The account of his life on earth, what he did for men, and the rites and ceremonies alleged to have been prescribed by him are dramatically rehearsed at the initiation of a candidate into the society.

The society holds its services in a long, loose wigwam, called "medawegaun." Some of these are ten feet high, a hundred feet long, and twenty feet wide. The framework is complete, but the bark or canvas cover usually extends only half way up the sides, the top being open; sometimes the upper framework is also omitted. Along the center of this house, running the long way of the same within the framework, a pole, supported by posts, carries the presents the initiate is to give to the medicine chiefs.

When dancing, they proceed in a continuous row from left to right around the center pole and its presents, giving them the appearance of dancing in two rows. They all carry animal skin medicine bags as they dance, and as they pass the initiate they shake these over him or at him uttering hoarse sounds of various kinds. Also, when setting out from the eastern or starting post in the eastern end of the lodge, each one utters a hoarse "Ho, ho, ho," or other gutteral expression as he shakes his medicine bag, holding it in both hands in front of him with its head pointing westward. Only members of the society are admitted, but any one who wishes may look on at the ceremony from without the hall.

Four of the medicine men act as initiating officers. These are provided with drums and rattles. One of these also has a kona-pamik (or cowry) shell (*Cyprae moneta*), the sacred emblem of the Metawit (medicine lodge order), and as he shakes the rattle and sings in a gutteral voice he runs the lodge-dance course around the center pole, followed by the other medicine men. As they thus proceed they pass the novitiate who is seated on a new mat so as to face the center pole of the lodge. One after the other dances

about him (the novitiate) in turn, singing and gesticulating the initiation songs. As a final act they "shoot" him with the sacred konapamik shells, pretending to blow them into his head or breast, whereat he falls as if dead and lies in an apparently lifeless stupor. Quickly the medicine fraternity gather around him, manipulate and rub him with the medicine bags and pray and utter incantations over him till he "recovers," after which he spits a sacred shell from his mouth, pretending it is the one with which the medicine man had "shot" (or pretended to "shoot") him; but which he had previously concealed for the act in his mouth. As soon as he has spit up the shell, he sits upright and later, rising, is given a medicine bag as his lodge badge. This concludes the essentials of the ceremony.

The distribution of the presents follows this act.

The Nett Lake Indians also have a ghost society, which is a variation of the Grand Medicine Lodge, the ceremony being to all appearances about the same as that of the Grand Medicine Lodge proper.

Should any person, who has been set apart by the medicine priest to be dedicated to the Medicine lodge, die before the time set for the initiation, provided he is an adult, the relatives announce the fact to the chief medicine men at a specially called meeting (feast) at the lodge of one of the mourners. After the proper preparation thereafter, the chief mourner is initiated into the society as a substitute for the deceased, and the feast he gives is the "feast of the dead." The whole ceremony, including the feast, is designed to release the deceased's "shadow" from the "shades" and permit it to depart to the "land of mysteries in the happy hunting ground."

After the death of twenty-two infants from cholera infantum in the fall of 1913, we had a ghost ceremony almost weekly till I left the region the next year. Also, since the infantile mortality has increased, children are initiated into the society either in person or by proxy.

Another case of initiation by proxy is when a sick youth is brought to the ceremonial structure for restoration to health as a last resort, all the other and ordinary efforts of the shamans to

cure the patient with exorcisms and incantations having proved futile. Sessions of the society are also held for the sole purpose of curing the sick. This mode of doctoring is, in fact, becoming more popular every year.

KAYENTA, ARIZONA

BOOK REVIEWS

METHODS AND PRINCIPLES

A Text Book of European Archaeology. Volume I. The Palaeolithic Period. R. A. S. MACALISTER. Cambridge University Press, 1921. xv, 610 pp.

The prehistoric archaeologist enjoys an *embarras de richesses;* in 1921 there were published three works dealing with the early Old World, viz., *Prehistory*,[1] *L'Humanité Préhistorique*,[2] and the book under discussion. In addition to these the *Éléments de Préhistoire*[3] has just been given greater publicity. Macalister's work is the most detailed and is limited to the Old Stone Age and to the industries that partly fill the gap preceding the New Stone Age.

The author sets himself a method of treatment and rigorously carries it out; quite in the grand style he begins with prolegomena geological, palaeontological, and anthropological.

There follows the discussion of the human remains and of the human implements in the eolithic and the three palaeolithic stages, which he subdivides as (I) the Chellean and Acheulian, or lower, (II) the Mousterian, or middle, and (III) the Aurignacian, Solutrean, and Magdalenian or upper.

A summing up of the qualities of man of these periods leads to a chapter on the mesolithic period, in which he places Maglemose, the Azilian, and the Campignian; the author's conclusions form a comparatively short chapter at the end.

The archaeological geography of Europe presents us four zones and eighteen subordinate regions. The zones are: Mediterranean, Central, Northern, and Eastern; this is good and it is well to remember that modern national lines as such had no importance in prehistoric times.

Macalister is in line with many in placing the first undoubted human industry (the Chellean) in the last or Riss-Würmian glacia-

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[1] M. C. Burkitt, with a preface by the Abbé Breuil: Cambridge University Press.

[2] Jacques de Morgan: La Renaissance du Livre, 78, Boulevard Saint-Michel, Paris.

[3] D. Peyrony, with a Preface by Dr. Capitan: Eyboulet Frères, Ussel. (Dépôt au Musée des Eyzies, Dordogne.)

tion and the Mousterian during part of the last Ice Epoch; the climatic variations that followed may be explained by the Bühl, Gschnitz and Daun stadia and metastadia; they accompany all the upper palaeolithic and the mesolithic. While more complicated, this arrangement is after all not unlike the simple one we used to believe in, namely, that each palaeolithic period fell in an interglacial epoch.[4]

The palaeontology of the Old Stone Age is clearly set forth and practically all the species represented in ancient art are illustrated by figures in the text; for reference, also, the fauna of the different sites is given in extenso; we find palaeontological tables for Chelles and the Somme Valley; for La Naulette, Spy. La Chapelle-aux-Saints, Saint-Brelade (Jersey), Krapina (very detailed), Der Sirgenstein; for Předmost (Moravia), Grotte des Hoteaux (Ain), Ofnet Caves in the Jura Mountains, and for Kesslerloch (Switzerland). A great many cross sections of the deposits at famous sites are recorded in tabular form; it is difficult to see how a better arrangement could have been devised.

The history of man himself throughout is studied with great minuteness, and each discovery of human remains investigated impartially; only those are recognized as genuine which leave no reasonable doubt in the author's mind; he uses the same method as the two De Mortillets in their great handbook, and like them accepts and rejects with a good deal of confidence.

Not always do they arrive at the same conclusion; e. g., the De Mortillets assign the Brünn skeleton to a neolithic burial,[5] while Macalister accepts it as palaeolithic, probably Solutrean.

The author denies certainty of pliocene age to Piltdown as well as to Mauer; he is in this regard very conservative, leaving them as isolated phenomena showing the existence of a more or less simian man in early quaternary times in northwestern Europe.

His position on the complicated questions of middle and upper palaeolithic races may be thus stated: (1) Mousterian man was almost exclusively Neanderthaloid, and practically covered central and western Europe; (2) Krapina is Mousterian and the brachycephalic fragments may represent a westward extreme outpost of Asiatics; (3) Aurignacian man is best represented by the high-type Cro-Magnons, versed in the beginnings of art and in moderately finished flint-technique; (4) Grimaldi may be a negroid subdivision

[4] Cf. M. Hoernes, Der diluviale Mensch, 1903, p. 8.

[5] G. and A. de Mortillet, Le Préhistorique, p. 277.

belonging to Cro-Magnon; (5) with Solutrean times Cro-Magnon seems largely to have departed and a race of men to have supervened not knowing the fine arts but exceedingly dexterous in flint chipping; (6) The Aurignacians, however, reasserted themselves in Magdalenian times bringing with them the marvellous development in art and a corresponding decline in flint working.

It is to stone, however, that we must look for most of our prehistoric information before pottery; the author makes a refined study of all the forms typical of the eolithic, palaeolithic, and mesolithic periods. "Eoliths"; rostro-carinates; coups-de-Poing; Levallois flakes; pointes Moustériennes; scrapers; front, side, notched, humped, and carinated knives and perforators; the series of Chatelperrons; gravettes; Font Robert, etc.; pointes-à-cran; laurel-leaves and gravers—all these and very many others are described and illustrated in the text; the same care is taken in the cases of the typical bone specimens of the upper palaeolithic.

A large part of the book is devoted to art—the descriptions do not include the "Sorcerer" of "Trois Frères," but the author quite sufficiently accounts for this omission in the Preface. He sides with the school of Salomon Reinach in attributing the existence of the paintings and engravings in the caves to sympathetic magic, quoting the striking argument that the great majority of the species represented are of benevolent animals whose increase in number would be for the benefit of humanity. He admits that Mousterian man had a religion and (p. 343) asserts this as a certainty; he instances the interments at La Chapelle-aux-Saints, Le Moustier, and Spy, and the deposition of stones over the head of the body at La Ferrassie. In all other respects the author is extremely cautious, not to say sceptical, and time and again refuses to accept discoveries in default of positive proof.

Perhaps the severest criticism one can bring to bear on this extraordinary work is to speak of the cavalier treatment of the eolithic question. Fantastic theories, such as those of the "Pierres Figures" deserve ridicule, but it does no good to laugh out of court the claimants for a series of stone types which are exactly what we should expect to find as the result of use by the "precursor of man." If the somewhat irascible proponents and opponents of eoliths would agree on the definition based on technique and not on technology, less confusion would exist. An "eolith" is a stone used intelligently and not shaped in accordance with a preconceived idea of its pur-

pose; as some of the four processes, viz., hammering, cutting, scraping and piercing, must have been in possession of man's precursor, one should look for stones bearing the marks of such use; once they are found, it is germane to ask if we can tell them from the purely natural; we are able to say confidently that in the majority of cases, though not always, we are able to. Finds of eoliths, then, in geological deposits afford a presumption of intelligent life contemporary with those deposits; these may be even pliocene or miocene.

It is likely that Macalister will encounter opposition to his advanced position on Mousterian religion; the fact that an interment is ipso facto later than the strata in which the burial is made should, of course, not be made to carry too much weight of evidence but it must not be lost sight of.

In the chapter on art the aesthetic principle as a motive for making the pictures should be given a larger place; some discussion of free and stylistic drawing, with comparisons of children's drawings in the style of Verworn[6] would be enlightening.

The book has a good many printer's errors, not all unavoidable, and one wishes for a bibliography and a table of contents "raisonnée." But all in all everyone who cares for archaeology and can read good English will be grateful for this comprehensive and authoritative "magnum opus."

CHARLES PEABODY

AMERICA

The American Indian: An Introduction to the Anthropology of the New World. CLARK WISSLER. 2d Edition. New York: Oxford University Press, 1922. Pp. 474, frontispiece and 82 figures.

The appearance of a new edition of Dr. Wissler's admirable work is an occurrence for which all students of anthropology and of the American Indian in particular should be grateful. Until the time of its first publication, now five years ago, no satisfactory description of the peoples of the New World or discussion of the many problems which they present existed. A vast mass of data had been accumulated as the result of the work of many investigators during the previous twenty or thirty years, but it had not been assembled and digested and the general results presented so that not only the anthropologist but the general reader could grasp their significance. This

[6] Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, 1906, pp. 651 ff.

service Dr. Wissler performed with conspicuous success, and his book became at once indispensable. The new edition is in general appearance an improvement on the first, the wider spacing making a more readable page. Other changes include the omission of twenty or more illustrations, the addition of a few new ones, and, apart from minor changes in text, the inclusion of some new material in chapters XVI and XVIII dealing with chronology and physical types.

In the first case, attention is called to certain broad resemblances between the oldest American cultures and those of western Europe in late Palaeolithic times. The importance is also emphasized of geographic distribution in determining the antiquity of cultures, on the principle that wide distribution indicates greater relative age. The chapter closes with a new and suggestive table of the relative chronology of the central area of intensive culture and the outlying primitive agriculture and hunting areas. Although necessarily tentative, the table helps to focus the whole problem of chronology which is obviously fundamental to the understanding of the culture history of America and its relations to that of the Old World

In the chapter dealing with somatic characters, the new material added relates to the recent important studies of the teeth, showing the frequency of the shovel-shaped incisor, the five-cusped molar, and the edge-to-edge bite among many of the American Indians. The first of these characters, by its frequency among the Chinese and Japanese, tends to emphasize the racial relationship of some at least of the New World peoples to the Mongoloid peoples of Asia. Dr. Wissler still adheres to the theory of the unity of race of all the American Indians, basing his conclusions on the method of averages; discounts the significance of the wide range of variability in physical characteristics, and pays little regard to the evidence of the historic succession of different types in many parts of both continents. I can not but feel that this is a mistake, and that the use of uncorrelated averages wholly masks the real facts. Only by analyzing the data on the basis of the individual correlation of characteristics can we hope to unravel the problem of racial types and affiliations. Once this has been done and the geographical and chronological distribution of the types resulting given adequate consideration, it is certain, I believe, that the presence of several racial types will have to be recognized.

Although taking account of many of the recent advances in knowledge relating to archaeology and physical anthropology, Dr. Wissler has rather neglected those in the linguistic field, especially as regards

South America. The problem of the division into linguistic stocks of the languages of the southern continent is admittedly a difficult and complicated one. Chamberlain's studies and map, published nearly ten years ago, were a very helpful résumé of the results of investigation at that time. Since then, however, Rivet and others have published a number of important revisions and modifications, which result in the provisional amalgamation of many of the smaller stocks. Of these studies Dr. Wissler has taken no account, and reprints Chamberlain's map without change and without comment. Unfortunate also is the fact that, in reprinting the map, the opportunity was not taken to correct both the errors in Chamberlain's map itself, and also the numerous mistakes in the copy of this map published in the first edition. As these errors were specifically pointed out in a review of Dr. Wissler's book when it first appeared, there seems little excuse for allowing them to go uncorrected in the present volume. The map, fig. 82, giving the locations of some of the South American tribes, is also faulty, containing not only some careless mistakes in spelling (Allentic for Allentiac, Gauranis for Guaranis, Witto for Witoto) but, what is more serious, a number of tribes are badly misplaced. Thus the Mocoan and Coconucan are located in the middle Cauca valley, the Otuquian and Enimagan are placed along the middle Madeira in western Brazil instead of some five hundred miles south on the upper Paraguay, the Muras are located on the Giparaña instead of in the vicinity of Manaos, and the Cariris are put in northern Bolivia instead of in the extreme northeastern part of Brazil. Had the map been even hastily checked up with the linguistic stock map given on page 312, many of these errors would have been prevented.

The present volume is also unfortunately marred by carelessness in proof-reading resulting in some misspellings, many of which have been carried over from the first edition, although specifically pointed out in a previous review. Also by the occasional omission of whole words, leaving the text ambiguous or meaningless; for example, on page 3 "In," the first word of the last paragraph, has been omitted, on page 19 "rarely" has been omitted at the end of the next to the last line of the first paragraph, "of" has been left out in the title of fig. 49, etc. While at the ungrateful task of noting the few errors in this very admirable volume, mention should be made of one or two misstatements of fact. Thus on page 15 in the table of cultivated plants the area of cultivation of the squash is still given as "tropical

America" although its wide use in the temperate regions of North America is well known and explicitly noted in the text. Again, on page 40 it is stated that the double paddle was used only by the Eskimo, whereas its use on the Californian coast from San Francisco Bay southwards is well attested. On the same page also it is said that the "only boat built up of planks was that of the now extinct Santa Barbara of California," although the existence of a similar boat on the southern Chilean coast has been frequently described. Lastly, on page 203, the Charrua are located in the Chaco, whereas their actual habitat (as indicated on the linguistic map on page 312 and the tribal map in fig. 82) was in Uruguay.

These occasional oversights are, however, of little moment in the face of the conspicuous ability with which Dr. Wissler has treated a very large and very complicated problem, resulting in a volume which is quite indispensable for anyone who wishes to get a clear understanding of the culture and history of the peoples of the New World.

ROLAND B. DIXON

OCEANIA

The Fornander Collection of Hawaiian Antiquities and Folklore. Edited by THOMAS THRUM. Bishop Museum: Honolulu, 1916–1919. (Memoirs in Polynesian Ethnology and Natural History, vols. IV, V, VI.)

This Collection, published in text and translation, is by far the most valuable contribution made to Polynesian ethnology and folk-lore since Krämer's Samoan monograph, and almost the only publication in Hawaiian folk-lore for which the native text is also available. Its editor, Mr. Thomas Thrum of Honolulu, although not a trained ethnologist, has devoted himself during a life-long residence in Hawaii to acquiring a thorough and accurate knowledge of the language and customs of the native Hawaiians, and has done much toward preserving their traditions.

Judge Fornander, the original collector of the tales, was born and educated in Sweden, the son of a clergyman, and first came to Hawaii in a whaling-ship in 1838. From this time until his death, in 1887, he interested himself with untiring energy in the problems of Polynesian race-tradition and affinities. Liked and respected by both foreigner and native, he married into a chief's family, occupied several government positions, and was appointed Circuit Judge of the island of Maui under the Hawaiian monarchy. In 1877 he could justly claim for

himself as equipment for his Hawaiian studies—"Thirty-four years residence in the Hawaiian group, nineteen years position in various offices under the Government; a thorough local and personal knowledge of every island of the group, acquired during numerous journeys," and added to this, "a thorough knowledge of the language." Of his methods as a collector he himself writes,

> I employed two, sometimes three, intelligent and educated Hawaiians to travel over the entire group and collect and transcribe, from the lips of the old natives, all the legends, chants, prayers, etc., bearing upon the ancient history, cults and customs of the people, that they possibly could get hold of. This continued for nearly three years; . . . during my many journeys from one end of the group to the other, I never omitted an opportunity in my intercourse with the old and intelligent natives to remove a doublt or verify a fact bearing upon the work I had in hand.

As a result of his investigation appeared his well-known *Account of the Polynesian Race, its Origin and Migrations, and the Ancient History of the Hawaiian People to the time of Kamehameha I* (late 18th century), published in London in three volumes, 1878–85. Fornander's original texts, however, remained in manuscript until their present incorporation by the Museum authorities into the present volume.

The first volume of the series and all but the last number of the second—which contains a useful set of compositions upon Hawaiian legends and customs prepared in Hawaiian text by able students of the Lahainaluna seminary of the last generation—is occupied by the Fornander texts. They include, besides a group of chants describing the formation of the islands and their early settling from "Kahiki," some forty hero-tales, romances, ghost stories, and anecdotes varying in length from a few lines to fifty pages, in some cases with more than one variant. Many contain important specimens of ancient chants and songs with a context describing the occasion of their composition. A large number of the tales are entirely new to those familiar with Hawaiian legends already in print.

The third volume holds, besides important papers by Hawaiian scholars upon religious ceremonial and sorcery from the collection of Prof. W. D. Alexander, Judge Fornander's collected genealogies and explanatory data. In the last number of this third volume appears also the admirable collection of Hawaiian chants brought together by Judge Lorrin Andrews, compiler of the Hawaiian dictionary, and includes Andrews's own translation of the famous *Haui ka Lani*, supposed to date from the 18th century, in praise of Kamahameha I,

here for the first time extended to the 809 lines of its full rendering. Each volume is supplied with an excellent index and all in all the edition is admirably adapted to the needs of students of Polynesian folk-lore and ethnology.

Judge Fornander believed in the kinship of Polynesian culture with that of India. He treated the Hawaiian genealogies and stories which he collected as of direct historical value without perhaps allowing for their possibly purely artistic interest. This their epical character rendered possible. It is a convention of Hawaiian story to begin a narrative with the names of the parents of hero or heroine and of his place of birth. Generally the name of the ruling chief appears in the story, and anecdotes explaining a local place-name are very often inserted. Whatever is fantastic or exceptional in the tales appears natural from the standpoint of native belief in the supernatural. The story itself proceeds in much the same epic vein as old Scandinavian saga, in some cases with equally bitter realism. It lacks the fairy-tale element and there are no animal fables. The constant passing of inanimate, animal, and human forms one into another is the natural result of the Polynesian animistic belief in the god-informing nature of the material universe. A certain number of the stories deal with adventures with spirits who occupy the islands and must be driven out before the present race takes possession—stories of cannibalism, of culture gifts and of practical joking which must not be regarded as significant of the actual settling of the group. Indeed, although a few tales extend the cosmographical fancy into the heavens, the large majority, even those which are common to other Polynesian groups, are definitely located within the Hawaiian group. A few tell of migration and of voyages to other lands. In such legends sorcery is common and women play a considerable part or even form the central figures.

Fornander asserts that the style of Hawaiian story-telling became fixed during that brilliant period of court life which arose some two or three hundred years ago when each island was dominated by a single ruling chief and the arts cultivated by the nobility attained their highest development under the competitive leadership of the Keawes on Hawaii, the Kakaalaneos of Maui, the Kukuihewas of Oahu, and the Kawelos of Kauai. In many of the stories, mention is made of one or another of these as ruling chief; other older tales Fornander thinks have been corrupted into conformity with the fixed standards of this period. At this time the art of riddling, referred to directly in several tales of competitive word-play, became crystallized

into those artificial forms which have left the whole question of Hawaiian poetic composition so hopelessly obscure. Eminently characteristic of this period, too, is the importance attached to the fortunes of the chief's counselor, as in the stories of Pakaa and his son, the counselor probably having played a large part in the preservation of such courtly repositories of wit and learning. As in all folk art, interesting turns of style occur—not only the same adventure ascribed to various heroes, but phrases carried word for word into identical situations. The chief constantly appears with "a large canoe, small canoe; large men, small men; a red canoe, red sails, red bailing cup, red cords, a red man"; and at his beauty "the woods, the house rejoiced, as also the ants, the roaches and creeping things."

Superficially the collection shows no marked likeness with others from Polynesia. Although the great Maori heroes Raka and Hema are known to the Hawaiian genealogists, their stories are not preserved here as part of the popular epic. There are few exploits with cannibals, and the Maui stories, so conspicuous a part of Maori folk-tale, though known in Hawaii do not appear in this collection. A few curious coincidences appear between Maori and Hawaiian story—White's tale of *Pare and Whitu* which is printed here as well as in Thrum's collection, under the name of *Hiku and Kawelo*, Grey's *Maiden of Roturua*, several versions of which, never printed in text, are current on Kauai. With Samoa, the only other Polynesian group for which a considerable body of folk-tale has been made accessible for comparison, there seems to be less direct relation. Hawaiian folk-tale is more realistic; there is more interest in character and in human situation, fewer ascents to the heavens and episodes under seas. On the other hand, Hawaiian poetry has not the simple story-telling quality of Samoan chants and balladry.

With romantic themes familiar to our own folk-lore, these Hawaiian legends are not without close parallels. In the famous legend of Aukelenuiakea, the hero is thrown into a well by his jealous brothers, emerges endowed with talismans of power, encounters traps set for him at the entrance to the house of a supernatural princess who becomes his wife, who instructs him in magic (teaching him to cut her up and then putting herself together again like the helpful lady in "Fair Brown and Trembling"), and after he has encountered and slain a giant bird, sends him to seek the water of life at the bottom of a well on the other side of the moon. In another tale, the coward wins all the honors of battle while the hero, pretending sluggishness,

performs in secret prodigies of valor and is recognized only by a chance wound and the trophies he has borne away. In the cycle of the master-thief, Iwa—who "stole while he was yet in his mother's womb" —performs the task of detaching from the temple a certain two-headed axe which hangs in the middle of a cord the ends of which are held by two old women.

The prodigious nomenclature of Hawaiian tales, together with the extreme literalness of the translation, makes the stories far from easy reading. A single index for the three volumes would have been a help to students. But altogether, these three volumes contain an invaluable contribution to Hawaiian lore, and students of Polynesian culture must feel themselves deeply indebted to the trustees of the Bishop Museum for rendering it accessible to them. They may also hope that the generous activities of the Museum authorities will not stop here. The very remarkable "Song of Creation," once printed in text by Kalakaua, is now impossible to obtain and its translation by Queen Liliuokalani very difficult of access. The song deserves a careful and critical re-examination before its obscurities reduce it to a mere curiosity of language. Many old legends have appeared in text in the pages of local newspapers, which have never been turned into English and whose texts are themselves in danger of being lost. The tale of Kalapana, the full text of the Pele legend, as it is still told in Hawaii, are perhaps escaping preservation because of their vulgarity, but other legends equally valuable and without this feature are likewise ignored. Besides these famous tales of the past, there are in every district a number of local legends current and known to the more intelligent old-timer. There are place-names to be preserved to which old anecdotes still cling. The music of songs recorded within the Hawaiian text is unknown to any collection. For the preservation of all these things, it is perhaps necessary that a second Fornander should arise, no less disinterested and enthusiastic in his labor of love, no less gifted for the task, and no less strong in his conviction of the value of preserving in its native purity and wit the lore of a vanished but not forgotten past.

MARTHA WARREN BECKWITH

MISCELLANEOUS

Primitive Time-reckoning: A study in the origins and first development of the art of counting time among the primitive and early culture peoples. (Skrifter Utgivna av Humanistiska Vetenskaps-samfundet in Lund I.) MARTIN P. NILSSON. Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup, 1920.

One of the most striking examples of modern adherence to tradition is the annual objection to interfering with "God's" time when the date arrives for turning the clock back an hour. The opposition to daylight saving is not confined to the rural population or to the uneducated. On the contrary, grumblings may be heard from the college-bred and from those devoting their lives to scientific research. But when being twitted with being slaves to custom they will tell you it is a matter of taste, and there the argument must cease for there is no more reasoning in the subject of personal tastes than in "instincts."

Be that as it may, Professor Nilsson of the University of Lund has collected comprehensive data regarding the time question as solved by primitive peoples. He has dealt chiefly with the time systems which preceded the earliest calendars and has reached the following conclusions:

1. The first time-indications are not numerical but concrete, being determined by dawn, darkness, sowing, harvest, etc.

2. These time divisions as the outgrowth of experience vary in length; they cross and overlap in many cases and in others leave gaps; in other words, they are discontinuous.

3. When primitive people adopt a continuous unit of time like our seven-day week, they do not regard it as a unit but as a part for the whole, according to their own *pars pro toto* method of counting.

4. Continuous time-reckoning arises from the various phases and positions of the moon.

5. The intercalation of months has arisen empirically since seasons and months fluctuate in reference to their position in the solar year, since the seasons are not limited in length and duration, and since they do not cover the months. Thus it happens that when the year has thirteen months one must be "forgotten," i. e., it must be dropped and its name given to the following month. From this occurrence there arise disputes as to which month it is; consequently the arrangement of the intercalation has been entrusted to priests, to

a body of officials, or even to a single person appointed for the purpose. An accurate intercalary cycle was not needed until the flourishing of theoretical astronomy and, accordingly, was introduced in Persia about 528 B. C.

For the regulation of months and seasons by the annual course of the sun, fixed land-marks or dwelling-places are required; even then only the two solstices are accessible to primitive observation and these are easily noticed in northern latitudes only; therefore the solstices and equinoxes play a comparatively unimportant part in the history of time-reckoning.

6. The regulation of the Greek calendar has throughout a sacred character. It was, in the first place, arranged in the form of sacred feast days which were followed by the official civil calendar. Furthermore, the Greek intercalation came from the east and originally from Babylonia. With it came other phases of eastern civilization, e. g., art and astronomical science. The demands of the latter for accuracy prepared the way for the emancipation of time-reckoning from the fetters of religious cult.

Professor Nilsson uses the comparative method in arriving at these conclusions. His defence is that the number of time-reckoning phenomena is accurately determined and limited, that these phenomena are the same throughout the world, and can be combined in a certain small number of ways. Fundamentally the two main groups are (a) phenomena of the heavens, and (b) phases of nature. He does not pretend to show what has happened in the case of one particular people, but by the elimination of impossibilities to indicate what *may* have happened. And since he has been universal in procuring his material, and since he has treated his fundamental groups with extreme care for details and variabilities his method seems unobjectionable.

The author has investigated and discussed the day, the seasons, the year, the stars, the month and series of months, calendar regulation with special reference to the intercalation and beginning of the year, solstices and equinoxes, artificial periods of time, and finally the calendar makers, sacred and profane. He devotes one chapter to the enumeration of popular months of European people. And here we see, if not the conservatism of the modern as to length of month, at least survivals of ancient notions in naming; e. g., even after the Julian calendar had been adopted in northern Europe, the old seasonal names were retained.

In his wealth of examples, care for detail, and in his extensive use of sources, as shown by a long and authentic bibliography, Professor Nilsson exhibits his devotion to accuracy.

GLADYS A. REICHARD

SOME NEW PUBLICATIONS

Balfour, Henry. The Archer's Bow in the Homeric Poems: an attempted diagnosis. (Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, vol. LI, 1921, pp. 289-309, 17 figs.)

Barnes, Henry Elmer. The Development of Historical Sociology. (Publications of the American Sociological Society, vol. XVI, pp. 17-49.)

Bolton, Reginald Pelham. Indian Paths in the Great Metropolis. (Indian Notes and Monographs.) New York: Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, 1922. 280 pp., 11 maps, 28 pls., 1 fig.

Densmore, Frances. Northern Ute Music. (Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 75.) Washington, 1922. 213 pp., 16 pls., 21 figs.

Frizzi, Ernst. Anthropologie. (Sammlung Göschen.) 133 pp., 41 figs.

Goldenweiser, Alexander A. Four Phases of Anthropological Thought. (Publications of the American Sociological Society, vol. XVI, pp. 50-69.)

Guernsey, S. J. *See* Nussbaum, Jesse L.

Harrington, M. R. Cuba before Columbus. (Indian Notes and Monographs, *ed.*, F. W. Hodge.) New York: Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, 1921. Part 1 in 2 vols. XIX, XVII, 507 pp., 109 pls., 111 figs.

———. Cherokee and Earlier Remains on Upper Tennessee River. (Indian Notes and Monographs.) New York: Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, 1922. 321 pp., 86 pls., 66 pp.

Heck, Ludwig. Menschenaffen. (Velhagen & Klasings Monatshefte Feb. 1922, pp. 641-656, 24 ills.)

Hooton, Ernest A. *See* Willoughby, Chas. C.

Jeancon, Jean Allard. Archaeological Research in the Northeastern San Juan Basin of Colorado during the Summer of 1921. Denver: The State Historical and Natural History Society of Colorado and the University of Denver, 1922. 31 pp., 25 pls.

Kidder, A. V. *See* Nussbaum, Jesse L.

Kroeber, A. L. Basket Designs of the Mission Indians of California. (Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, vol. XX, pt. 2, 1922, pp. 149-183, pls. 1-6, 97 figs.) 50 cents.

Lowie, Robert H. The Religion of the Crow Indians. (Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, vol. XXV, pt. 2, pp. 309-444, 7 figs., New York, 1922.) $1.25.

Maran, René. Batouala; véritable roman nègre, Paris: Albin Michel, 1921, 189 pp. (Ethnographic Novel with scene laid in the Ubangi-Shari district of French Equatorial Africa; written by a negro who received the Prix Goncourt for 1921.)

Müller, Sophus. Nye Fund og Former. (Aarböger for Nordisk Olkyndighed og Historie, Kjöbenhavn, 1920, III Raekke, 10 Bind, pp. 88-111, 16 figs.)

———. Billed-og Fremstillingskunst i Bronzealderen. (Ibid., pp. 125-161, 17 figs.)

Nussbaum, Jesse, L. A Basket Maker Cave in Kane County, Utah; with notes on the Artifacts by A. V. Kidder and S. J. Guernsey. (Indian Notes and Monographs.) New York: Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, 1922. 153 pp., 36 figs., 66 pls.

Ogburn, Wm. F. The Historical Method in the Analysis of Social Phenomena. (Publications of the American Sociological Society, vol. XVI, pp. 70-83.)

Parker, Arthur C. The Archaeological History of New York, Part 1. (New York State Museum Bulletin nos. 235, 236, July-August 1920.) Albany: University of the State of New York, 1922. 470 pages, 68 figs., 142 pls.

Routledge, S. *and* K. Notes on some Archaeological Remains in the Society and Austral Islands. (Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, vol. LI, 1921, pp. 438-455, 13 figs., pls. XVIII-XXIV.)

Roy, Sarat Chandra. Khasi Kinship Terms. (Man in India, vol. 1, 1921, pp. 233-238 d.)

———. Types of Cultural Theory. (Ibid., pp. 240-261.)

Schuller, Rudolf. Zur sprachlichen Verwandtschaft der Maya-Qu'itše mit den Carib-Aruac. (Anthropos, 1919-20, XIV-XV, pp. 465-491.)

Sullivan, Louis R. The Status of Physical Anthropology in Polynesia. (Proceedings, First Pan-Pacific Scientific Conference, Part 1, Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Special Publication, Honolulu, 1921, pp. 63-69.)

———. The Frequency and Distribution of some Anatomical Variations in America. (Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, vol. XXIII, pt. V, 1922, pp. 203-258, 1 fig.) 50 cents.

Swanton, John R. Early History of the Creek Indians and their Neighbors. (Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 73, Washington, 1922, 492 pp., 10 pls.)

Tellio, Julio C. Introduccion a la Historia antigua del Peru. Lima: Sanmarti & Cia, 1922. 48 pp., 27 pls., 1 diagram.

Thurnwald, Richard. Psychologie des primitiven Menschen. (Handbuch der vergleichenden Psychologie, Band 1, Abteilung 2, pp. 145-320. Ernst Reinhardt: München, 1922. 76 figs, 16 pls.)

Tozzer, Alfred. The Anthropology of the Hawaiian Race. (Proceedings, First Pan-Pacific Scientific Conference, Part 1, Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Special Publication, Honolulu, 1921, pp. 70-74.)

Willoughby, Charles, C. The Turner Group of Earthworks, Hamilton County, with notes on the Skeleton remains by Ernest A. Hooton. (Papers of the PeabodyMuseum of American Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, vol. VIII, No. 3, 1922, VIII, 132 pp., 27 pls., 47 figs.)

Wissler, Clark. Man in the Pacific. (Proceedings, First Pan-Pacific Scientific Conference held under auspices of the Pan-Pacific Union, Part 1, Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Special Publication, Honolulu, 1921, pp. 53-59.)

DISCUSSION AND CORRESPONDENCE

Prejudice or Linguistic Short-Coming?

The second number of the twenty-third volume of the *American Anthropologist* contained a review of a little work of mine, *Essai sur l'Origine des Dênés de l'Amérique du Nord*, the animus of which has ever since been somewhat of a mystery to me. Despite its evident misrepresentation of my aim and conclusions, after flattering articles on that humble volume (one of which ran through four numbers of a periodical), as well as privately expressed encomiums on the same, I have so far felt loath to correct the inaccuracies of its author, Prof. R. B. Dixon, whose name has of late been prominently associated with what some call strenuous criticism, meaning perhaps thereby something stronger. I thought it more dignified to ignore his strictures on my book until some friends, who seem to understand French better than he, pressed me to set matters right, it being, they claim, a case not only of undue depreciation, but of manifest misrepresentation. Reluctantly, therefore, I must take up the cudgels and point out the most reprehensible features of Dixon's article.

These are, first, that he utterly misrepresents the aim and conclusions of my essay, and, second, that he does not seem to see, at least he does not once mention, that remarkable analogy which served as the real basis for my findings, and constitutes the *ratio essendi* of my little work. This is so true that I can not help asking myself whether my austere critic so much as read it, and, if he did, whether he understood it thoroughly. Though his review smacks of prejudice, I can not, of course, bring myself to imagine that he could have wilfully wronged me.

My pages forming an essay on the origin of the Dénés, nothing could surpass in importance the answer I give to the implied query of its title. What is that answer? What origin do I assign to my former Indians "after thirty-two years of serious study?"[1] According to Prof. Dixon, after having produced meaningless or misunderstood similarities, I "turn at last to the mirage of the Lost Ten Tribes and find in this the final solution of many of my troubles." Which comes to say, unless I fail to understand English, that I end by adopting the

[1] Essai sur l'origine des Dénés de l'Amérique du Nord, p. 6.

opinion of those who believed the Indians to be the descendants of the Lost Tribes of Israel.

Now not only do I not adopt it, but I have always combated it, and, in this little book of mine, I, on its very threshold, implicitly scorn it away! Translating my French for the benefit of Dr. Dixon, here is what I say in commencing my enumeration of the various current hypotheses regarding the origin of the Indians in general:

"There is, in the first place, the theory of their Hebraic origin, which captivated a large number of intellects, and according to which our Indians are nothing else than the Lost Tribes of Israel."[2]

So far so good. Any one will see that I hereby commit myself to no opinion on that subject, though a Frenchman familiar with the delicate shades of his language will have already perceived by my use of the word "captivated" that I do not lean towards that opinion. But, although this is not the place to show a preference for or against such a claim, any intelligent reader will clearly see on which side are my own leanings when I immediately add: "Though already an old one, the *tribe* of those who embraced that opinion is neither lost nor extinct." If Dr. Dixon cannot feel the gentle irony contained in these words, all I can say is that his knowledge of French is imperfect.

Nowhere, in my 230 pages, do I state, or even as much as remotely hint, that the Dénés are of even Semitic, let alone Jewish, origin, and I challenge my critic to show me one single passage in that work to bear him out in his contention. Nowhere will he find an excuse for his assertion that, "turning to the mirage of the Lost Ten Tribes, I find in this the final solution of many of my troubles."

After having minutely compared the Dénés with the aborigines of eastern Siberia, such as they were at the time of their first contact with the Russians—something I have been told had never been attempted before, and which I did after a close study of exceedingly rare old books of which I have a collection, though Dixon makes bold to say that the facts I have on the same are "well-known"—I conclude by saying that, according to the Déné traditions, "we may say that they originally inhabited a part of Asia devoid of mountains and with a temperate climate."[3] Of the Jews, not a word.

Prof. Dixon goes on to affirm somewhat disingenuously that "I accept as history the Déné traditions of migration from a land abounding in snakes and monkeys." I wonder if he is really serious,

[2] Op. cit., p. 7.
[3] Ibid., p. 91.

or whether he simply wants to enjoy a fling at what he no doubt takes for my credulity. In the first place, I do not accept the Déné traditions as history, though, in common with all competent and unbiassed ethnographers, I grant them all the value aboriginal traditions (not merely legends) deserve, especially when they permeate several tribes of the same stock, and are furthermore corroborated by striking proofs derived from geography—such as those over which Dixon prudently passes in silence.

Then, as to the land of the snakes and monkeys, it is not I but Sir John Franklin who refers to it, quoting the Indians he met.[4] Petitot found the same tradition among other related tribes. Of course, Dixon cannot see anything suggestive in the fact that aborigines who have never come in contact with any anthropoid apes in their frozen deserts should yet mention the same in the traditions they have derived from their ancestors, traditions which they gave out to the first white man they saw, barring thereby the possibility of being accused of borrowing from the whites or others the concept of such strange beings.

To revert to the question of the origin of my Dénés. Never once in the course of over 200 pages do I as much as mention the Jews to whom Dixon does not hesitate to affirm that I trace the origin of those aborigines. When I do come to speak of them, I do so in such a cautious and indefinite way that no bona fide inquirer could fail to notice it. I then hint at "some neighborhood or commerce at a time previous to their (the Dénés) passage into America, and *perhaps* even some blood mixture consequent on intermarriages of the ancestors of our Dénés with either Jewish or Judaizing populations."[5]

Compare this guarded, limited, and tentative suggestion with Dixon's unreserved and sweeping declaration, and characterize such tactics as you will.

I am so little lured away by the mirage of the Lost Ten Tribes, that I then go on to write: "I am aware that I am here nearing a slippery enough ground, which has already caused numbers of explorers to fall, that I am venturing upon moving sand which may become fatal to the searcher who is unwary enough to tread on it with closed eyes and without the accessories which are necessary to prevent him from sinking into it. We shall therefore keep well awake, promptly repress any fit of enthusiasm, and be careful to check all the data which history and sociology may offer us on this subject."

[4] Cf. op. cit., p. 73.

[5] Ibid., p. 204.

Unless I am greatly mistaken, these preliminaries scarcely betray the allurements of any kind of mirage. Nay, I am so far from giving, even partially, the Lost Tribes of Israel as the ancestors of my Indians that I write immediately after the foregoing: "After having reviewed peculiarities and adduced arguments which cannot but beget certitude, we are now going to tackle others which, though at first sight seemingly as convincing, can scarcely result in anything more than some degree of probability."[6]

Whereupon I give for what they are worth some sociological and ritual resemblances between the Israelites of old and the Dénés. Is this, I ask again, giving as my conclusions that my Indians are descended from the Lost Ten Tribes? This is so little the case that, in a note at the end of that same chapter, I expressly remark: "I have purposely omitted to mention in this chapter an argument quite in vogue among the partisans of the Hebraic origin of our Indians, a theory which, as it must now be understood, *has almost nothing in common with mine.*"[7]

Nor is this all. When, page 224 of my *Essai*, I come upon those ritual resemblances, especially such of them as pertain to feminine life, I expressly write that "lest we fall into the exclusivism *which led many authors astray*, or at least which made them go too far in their conclusions, it behooves us, even in this connection, to remark that several of the practices we are about to describe appear to have been older than the book of *Leviticus*, to which it is customary to refer them."

In other words, we are going to enumerate sociological similarities between the primitive Jews and our Dénés; but the reader should be careful not to jump to the conclusion that these stamp the Indians in question as being of Jewish origin, since they originally belonged to other peoples.

This, it seems to me, ought effectively to dispose of Dixon's contention. On the other hand, I suppose it would not be fair for me to presume that Dixon is one of those prejudiced scholars whom the mere mention of Holy Writ and its wonderful record suffices to set on edge?

My critic furthermore asserts that I "for the most part used my sources quite uncritically," and that I have not "distinguished be-

[6] Op. cit., p. 212.
[7] Ibid., p. 204.

tween similarities in culture which are significant and those which are not." Of course, since such is Dixon's belief, I must take it as the expression of truth. Yet I will confess that I would be more ready to bow to his superior judgment if others had not published the very contrary in reputable reviews. Is it possible that that gentleman, professor though he be, can not distinguish between the essential and the accessory, the *probatio probans* and the *probatio corroborans* familiar to every logician? Or is it that, in a book destined more or less for the general reader, not to superior intellects such as Dixon's, it should now be forbidden to adduce even those facts which may go to corroborate in one way or another the main argument of a thesis? One would really believe that, acute as he may be, our professor did not notice that my first fourteen chapters are but so many steps leading to Chapter XV, wherein lies my chief evidence, of which Dixon evidently failed to grasp the true significance. The gist of my argument is there; it is on the facts it contains that I really rely for my proof, and, useless to repeat it, that chapter has not the remotest allusion to the Jews.

There are among primitive peoples a number of myths of a more or less general character which are of no ethnographical value, possess scarcely any importance when it is a question of determining either ethnic identities or relationships, or again contact in the remote past. But I hold that when you find within two nations one whose details are so characteristic, so typical, and so remarkably alike as those of the legend related in my Chapter XV, the duplication of the same can not be regarded as fortuitous, and is, on the contrary, highly significant. On this point, I make a bold appeal to the good sense of every unprejudiced reader.

But if we are to believe Prof. Dixon, I fail in my book "to recognize that many of the items of northern Athabaskan culture which I discuss are really borrowed and not Athabaskan at all." In answer, ready as I am to credit my adversary with superior critical acumen—not to mention an unbounded assurance—I am old-fashioned enough to imagine that one who has, for forty years, made a special study of an aboriginal family, while he is fairly familiar with the races that surround it, should know as well what belongs to it and what does not as any chance reviewer who perhaps never saw any member of that family, who does not speak any of its dialects and who never wrote those "numerous valuable articles and monographs in

regard" to the same aborigines for which "all students of the American Indian must be grateful."[8]

Did Dr. Dixon ever read that essay of mine published at least thirty-two years ago,[9] which is entitled "Is Carrier Sociology Indigenous or Exotic?" I showed therein that many native customs which had previously passed for being Déné were in reality borrowed from foreign tribes. If my reviewer will only peruse it, he will soon realize that I scarcely need to be reminded that the usages and observances prevailing among the modern Dénés are not all Déné. Many there are among those I compared with Asiatic equivalents in my little book which I well know to be un-Déné (and which I give as such), but are certainly American.

Wherefrom Prof. Dixon may also learn that I am not quite so new as he complacently believes to "a field and a kind of investigation" of which no office scientist can rightfully claim to have a monopoly.

A. G. MORICE

ATHABASKAN TONE

A part of the summer of 1922 was spent by the writer at Sarcee Reserve, Alberta, in studying the language of the Sarcee Indians. A series of texts was obtained as well as supplementary grammatical material. The most important single point that appeared was the fact that Sarcee has a well-developed system of pitch accent. Fundamentally this system has a striking resemblance to the Tlingit tonal system described by Dr. Boas, though secondary developments have complicated the Sarcee system considerably. The tonal resemblances between Tlingit and Athabaskan constitute an important further argument in the Nadene theory recently put forward. Hints on Athabaskan tone are to be found also in Father L. Legoff's study of Chipewyan (*Grammaire de la Langue Montagnaise*). Father Morice makes a few isolated references to tone in Carrier, where it is almost certainly a feature of importance judging from brief MS linguistic notes taken by C. M. Barbeau among Carrier Indians at Hagwelgate. Some years ago P. E. Goddard noted tonal differences between otherwise identical second person singular and third person subjective forms in the Hupa verb; these observations, based on the study of

[8] Prof. R. B. Dixon, in his review of my Essay.

[9] In the Transactions, of the Royal Society of Canada, first series. Being momentarily away from my library, I cannot give the exact volume, much less the page

Rousselotgraphs, agree with the Sarcee results obtained. So fundamental is tone to Sarcee morphology that it is well nigh inconceivable that it should be entirely absent in any other Athabaskan dialect.

E. SAPIR

ANTHROPOLOGICAL NOTES

Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association

The annual meeting of the American Anthropological Association, will be held in the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, Mass., December 27, 28, and 29, in conjunction with Section H (Anthropology) of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, and the American Folk-Lore Society.

The Loubat Prizes

The next award of the Loubat Prizes will be made in 1923, and an announcement regarding them has just been issued by Columbia University. As set forth in the above announcement, these prizes are of the value respectively of $1000 and $400 and "are awarded at Commencement at the close of every quinquennial period, dating from July 1, 1898, for the best work printed and published in the English language on the History, Geography, Archaeology, Ethnology, Philology, or Numismatics of North America. The competition for such prizes is open to all persons, whether connected with Columbia University or not, and whether citizens of the United States or any other country.

"In accordance with the terms of the deed of gift, the successful competitors are bound to furnish, free of charge to the University, five copies of the works for which the prizes are awarded.

The jury of award for the current period is as follows:

"William Milligan Sloane, Seth Low Professor of History in Columbia University, Chairman.

"Alfred L. Kroeber, Professor of Anthropology and Curator of the Anthropological Museum in the University of California.

"St. George Leakin Sioussat, Professor of American History in the University of Pennsylvania.

"Communications in regard to the Loubat Prizes should be addressed and works submitted in competition should be sent to the Secretary of Columbia University, New York City."

During the past season Alanson Skinner, Curator of Anthropology of the Public Museum of the City of Milwaukee made two trips

to Oklahoma for the purpose of collecting specimens from the Sauk and Iowa Indians. In addition to several hundred pages of notes, Mr. Skinner obtained a good representative collection from each of the tribes in question, and was especially fortunate in collecting a large series of ceremonial articles as well. From the Iowa the entire existing series of gens peace pipe bundles was gathered, in addition to a number of sacred bundles of the Buffalo Doctors and Grizzly Bear Doctors Societies, articles which were supplemented by similar series from the related Oto tribe. From the Sauk no less than fourteen war-bundles of the Wolf, Deer, Turkey, and Bear-Potato gentes were acquired. These bundles are interesting in containing many fine antique articles, such as breechclouts, arm and shoulder bands, headdresses, plumes, and prisoner ties ornamented with porcupine quills. Several new types of war-bundles were collected, among them one from the Bear-Potato gens, the principal contents of which was a pair of otter skins stuffed with native tobacco. To one of the skins is attached eighteen human scalps, while eight are affixed to the other. Another unusual bundle was one of the Wolf gens, consisting of the skin of a duckhawk in a tight envelope of deerskin, which was carried into battle by the partisan, contrary to the usual custom. Much new data concerning the origin, use, and rituals of the bundles was collected. A very fine Kickapoo war bundle, containing a prisoner tie made like an Iroquois burden strap with false embroidery in dyed deer hair, was also obtained.

Mr. Skinner expects to return to Oklahoma during the winter to pursue his studies and continue collecting among the two tribes.

AN expedition from the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, working in the Ozark region of Arkansas during the past summer, succeeded in locating some unusually dry rock-shelters, which yielded a large collection of prehistoric basketry, textiles, and wooden objects in addition to the articles of stone and bone usually found in such places. Among the more interesting specimens secured are two baby-carriers neatly woven of cane, and a hoe or adze, its shell blade still attached to its wooden handle with native cord and strips of bark.

Most of the basketry is of split cane, the twilled weaves suggesting those of the southeastern tribes, but wicker and coiled baskets were also found. The sacks and blanket fragments of fiber show, as a rule, simple twined weaves, but a number of pieces of robes ap-

peared, made by weaving together cords that had been previously wrapped with soft feathers or strips of fur.

The work, which was in charge of Mr. M. R. Harrington, assisted by Messrs. D. A. Cadzow and C. O. Turbyfill, will be continued during the winter.

DR. J. WALTER FEWKES, Chief of the Bureau of American Ethnology, spent three months during the past summer in the field at the Mesa Verde National Park, Colorado. He excavated three ruins: one near Far View House to which he gave the name of "Pipe Shrine House," on account of the dozen or more pipes which were found on the floor of the central kiva. He also opened and restored the "Far View Tower" situated a few hundred feet north of Far View House, where he found three kivas on the south side of a circular tower. To a third he gave the name "One Clan House," which consisted of a circular kiva and surrounding rooms used for various purposes such as cooking, grinding corn, storage, and sleeping. A good collection of aboriginal objects was obtained in the prosecution of this work.

MR. ARTHUR C. PARKER, State Archeologist of New York, spent part of the summer in excavating a remarkable prehistoric Indian Cemetery at Vine Valley on Canandaigua Lake, New York. The culture was either very high early Algonkian, or else of a type comparable with that of some of the Ohio Mounds. It yielded polished slate tubes, bird stones, two-holed gorgets, fossil ivory articles, and other unusual articles.

MESSRS. LEE R. WHITNEY and CHARLES E. BROWN, President and Secretary of the Wisconsin Archeological Society respectively, made two independent trips at different times to the east, where they visited the various museums and collections in New York State in particular. Mr. Brown was fortunate in being able to visit New York State Archeologist Parker in the field at Vine Valley.

DR. S. A. BARRETT, Director of the Public Museum of the City of Milwaukee, has recently secured an exceptionally fine carved Haida totem pole which he has had erected in front of the Museum Building. It is 42 feet high, and is regarded as one of the best examples of Haida carving extant.

PROFESSOR HUTTON WEBSTER'S *Primitive Secret Societies* has recently been translated into Italian by Dr. R. Pettazzoni of the

Royal University of Bologna. It appears in the series "Storia delle Religioni, edited by Dr. Pettazzoni. A Japanese translation of this book was published a few years ago.

ROBERT T. AITKEN has returned from about two years spent in Tahiti and various islands of the Society and Austral groups. His work is to supplement the investigations of the Bayard Dominick Expedition, which is making an intensive study of Polynesian origin and migration. Mr. Aitken collected material objects illustrative of the life of the present-day people, and a few that date back to the early inhabitants of these islands. He also brought back a few folk tales in fragmentary form, physical measurements of the inhabitants and photographs of the majority of the people of the island of Tubuai in the Austral group.—*Science.*

DR. F. VON LUSCHAN, Professor of Anthropology at the University of Berlin, retires this year, having reached the age limit.

STEPHENSON PERCY SMITH, known for his work on Polynesian ethnology, has died at New Plymouth, New Zealand, at the age of seventy-two years.

DR. HUGO OBERMAIER has been appointed to the new Professorship of Prehistoric Archaeology at the University of Madrid.

THE second year's work of the American School in France for Prehistoric Studies began the first week in July at the rock shelter of La Quina, Charente, under the Directorship of Dr. Charles Peabody. The retiring Director, Professor George Grant MacCurdy, has returned to Yale University after visiting Switzerland, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Germany, Belgium, and England.

DR. CARL E. GUTHE returned during May from a four months' field season in Guatemala where he continued the excavations begun last year at the ruins of Tayasal, near Flores in Peten. On the first of August he resigned his position as Research Associate in Middle American Archaeology, in the Carnegie Institution of Washington, to accept the position of Associate Director of Anthropology in the Museum at the University of Michigan. On the first of September he left for the Philippine Islands, to begin Anthropological investigations there for the University. Three years will be devoted to the work in the islands.

A SOCIETY for the preservation of ancient remains in the State of Yucatan, Mexico, has been formed at Mérida, under the name "Asociación Conservadora de los Monumentos Arquelógicos de Yucatán."

MR. JOHN P. HARRINGTON, Ethnologist of the Bureau of American Ethnology, returned to Washington, July 6, after a successful season in California.

W. C. MCKERN is temporarily assisting the Bureau of American Ethnology in the capacity of Assisant Ethnologist.

DR. T. T. WATERMAN concluded his work for the Bureau of American Ethnology in September and sailed for Cuba to accept a position as instructor in Habana.

AT the Hull Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, Sept. 6-13, the President of the Section of Anthropology delivered an address on "The Study of Man." Dr. C. S. Myers, F. R. S., spoke before the Psychology Section on the influence of the late Dr. W. H. R. Rivers, President Elect of the Section, on the development of psychology in Great Britain.

IN connection with the National Colonial Exposition of Marseilles an International Assembly of Geographers, Explorers, Ethnologists, and Naturalists, of which Prince Bonaparte was President, was held, during the week of September 22-28.

PROF. EDWARD ANTHONY SPITZKA, well-known for his work in physical anthropology, as well as in anatomy and neurology, died on September 4, at his home in Mount Vernon, N. Y.

EDWARD S. HANDY, ethnologist of the Bishop Museum of Hawaii, will leave Honolulu in December or January to take charge of an expedition to Tahiti and Moorea, for which the museum has completed arrangements. The work is planned to supplement the investigations by members of the Bayard Dominick Expedition, who have been at work in the Marquesas and the Austral Islands during the past two years.—*Science.*

MEMOIRS OF THE
AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION
CONTINUED

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